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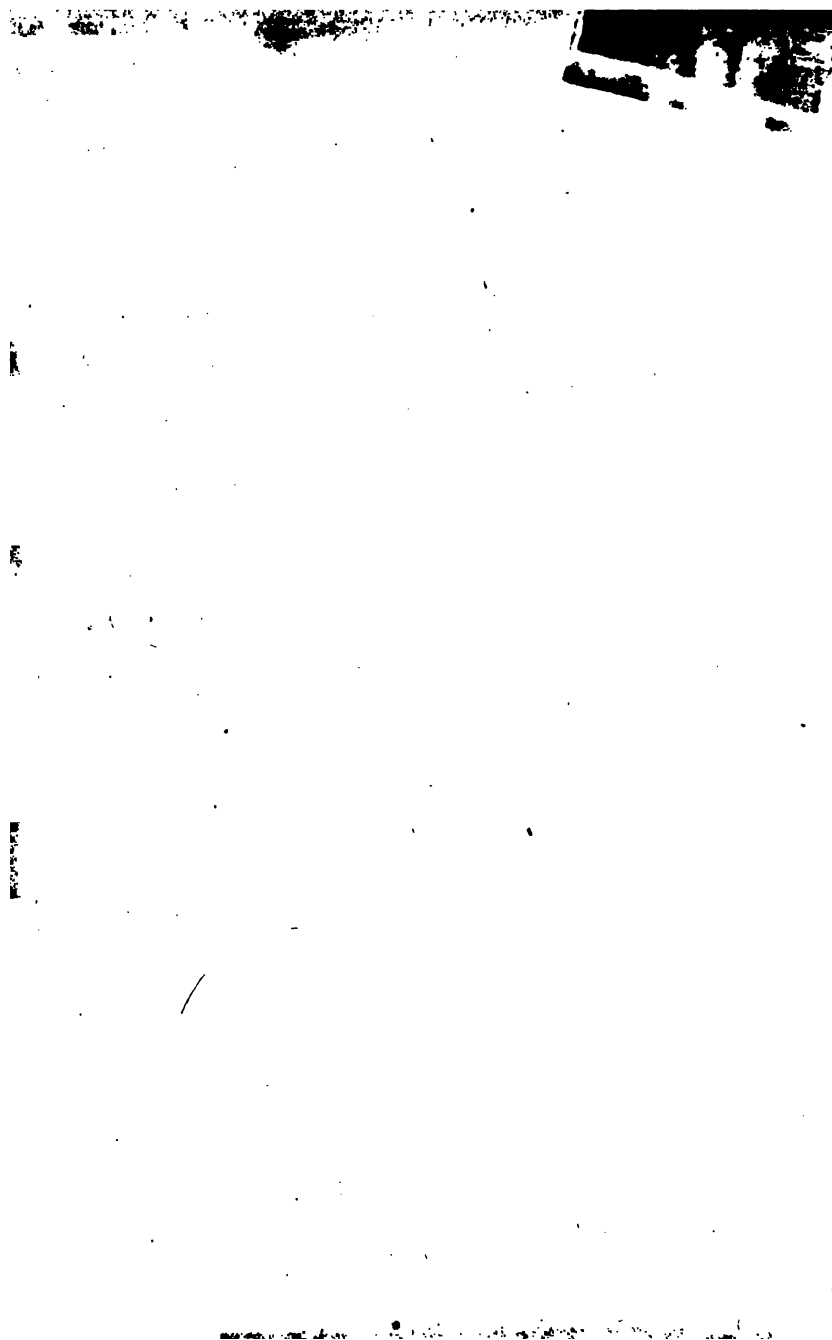
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THE
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FROM THE
RESTORATION
TO THE *5-965-8*
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V O L. VIII.

L O N D O N:

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Journal of Management Education 30(6)p. 789-804
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T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
T H I R D V O L U M E.

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of King GEORGE II.

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S P E E C H E S

A N D

D E B A T E S

I N T H E

House of Commons,

D U R I N G

The Seventh and Last Session of the Seventh
Parliament of *Great Britain.*



ON Thursday the 17th of January the Parliament being met at Westminster, pursuant to their last Prorogation, the King came to the House of Lords, and being seated upon the Throne with the usual State and Solemnity, and the Commons being sent for up and attending, his Majesty open'd the Session

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with the following Speech to both Houses :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ T H E War, which is now begun, and carry'd on,
“ against the Emperor, with so much Vigour, by the
“ united Powers of France, Spain, and Sardinia, is become
V O L. III. A “ the

The King's Speech
at opening the
Seventh Session.

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1733-34.

“ the Object of the Care and Attention of all Europe ; and
 “ though I am no ways engaged in it, and have had no
 “ Part, except by my good Offices, in those Transactions,
 “ which have been declared to be the principal Causes and
 “ Motives of it, I cannot sit regardless of the present
 “ Events, or be unconcerned for the future Consequences
 “ of a War, undertaken and supported by so powerful an
 “ Alliance.

“ If ever any Occasion required more than ordinary Pru-
 “ dence and Circumspection, the present calls upon us to
 “ use our utmost Precaution, not to determine too hastily
 “ upon so critical and important a Conjunction ; but to
 “ consider thoroughly what the Honour and Dignity of my
 “ Crown and Kingdoms, the true Interest of my People,
 “ and the Engagements we are under, to the several Powers
 “ we are in Alliance with, may in Justice and Prudence
 “ require of us.

“ I have therefore thought it proper to take Time to ex-
 “ amine the Facts alledged on both Sides, and to wait the
 “ Result of the Councils of those Powers, that are more
 “ nearly and immediately interested in the Consequences of
 “ the War, and to concert with those Allies, who are un-
 “ der the same Engagements with me, and have not taken
 “ Part in the War, more particularly the States-General of
 “ the United-Provinces, such Measures as shall be thought
 “ most advisable for our common Safety, and for restoring
 “ the Peace of Europe.

“ The Resolutions of the British Parliament, in so nice a
 “ Juncture, are of too great Moment not to be carefully
 “ attended to, and impatiently expected, by all, and not
 “ the least by those, who will hope to take Advantage from
 “ your Determinations, whatever they shall be, and to turn
 “ them to the Prejudice of this Kingdom. It must there-
 “ fore be thought most safe and prudent, thoroughly to
 “ weigh and consider all Circumstances, before we come to
 “ a final Determination.

“ As I shall have, in all my Considerations upon this
 “ great and important Affair, the strictest Regard to the
 “ Honour of my Crown, and the Good of my People, and
 “ be governed by no other Views, I can make no Doubt,
 “ but that I may entirely depend on the Support and Assi-
 “ stance of my Parliament, without exposing myself, by
 “ any precipitate Declarations, to such Inconveniencies, as
 “ ought, as far as possible, to be avoided.

“ In the mean Time, I am persuaded, you will make
 “ such Provisions, as shall secure my Kingdoms, Rights,
 “ and Possessions, from all Dangers and Insults, and main-
 “ tain the Respect due to the British Nation : Whatever
 “ Part

“ Part it may, in the End, be most reasonable for us to act,
 “ it will, in all Views, be necessary, when all Europe is
 “ preparing for Arms, to put ourselves in a proper Posture
 “ of Defence. As this will best preserve the Peace of the
 “ Kingdom, so it will give us a due Weight and Influence,
 “ in whatever Measures we shall take in Conjunction with
 “ our Allies: But should the Defence of the Nation not
 “ be sufficiently provided for, it will make us disregarded
 “ abroad, and may prove a Temptation and Encouragement
 “ to the desperate Views of those, who never fail to flatter
 “ themselves with the Hopes of great Advantages from
 “ publick Troubles and Disorders.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I shall order the Estimates to be laid before you of such
 “ Services, as require your present and immediate Care.
 “ The Augmentation, which will be proposed for the Sea
 “ Service, will be very considerable; but I am confident it
 “ will be thought by you reasonable and necessary. I must
 “ particularly recommend to your Care the Debt of the
 “ Navy, which has every Year been laid before you; but,
 “ from the present Circumstances of the Times, I believe
 “ you will think it now requires some Provisions to be
 “ made for it, which cannot well be longer postpon'd,
 “ without manifest Detriment to the publick Service.

“ As these extraordinary Charges and Expences are unavoidable, I make no Doubt but you will effectually raise
 “ the Supplies necessary for defraying of them, with that Readiness and Dispatch, and with that just Regard to the true
 “ Interest of my People, which this Parliament has hitherto
 “ shewn upon all Occasions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is at all Times to be wished, that the Business of
 “ Parliament might be carry'd on free from Heats and
 “ Animosities, and with that Temper, which becomes the
 “ Justice and Wisdom of the Nation: At this Time it is
 “ more particularly to be desired, that this Session may not
 “ be protracted by unnecessary Delays, when the whole
 “ Kingdom seems prepared for the Election of a new Parliament; an Event which employs the Attention of all
 “ Europe: And I am very well pleased, that this Opportunity offers of taking again the Sense of my People in
 “ the Choice of a new Representative, that the World may
 “ see how much their true Sentiments have been mistaken,
 “ or misrepresented. Those who see and hear only at a Distance, may easily be impos'd upon, and from thence conceive false Hopes or Fears; but I am confident a little
 “ Time will effectually remove all groundless Surmises, and
 “ it will be found that Great Britain is always to act that

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" Part, which the Honour and Interest of the Nation calls
upon them to undertake."

Mr John Camp-
bell's Motion for
an Address of
Thanks.

The Commons being return'd to their House, and the Speaker having reported his Majesty's Speech, Mr Campbell, Member for Pembroke-shire, mov'd, ' That an Address of Thanks be presented to the King, for his most gracious Speech from the Throne: To acknowledge his Majesty's Goodness in the Concern he had express'd upon account of the War unhappily begun in Europe, and his Majesty's great Wisdom in using so much Precaution upon that critical Con-juncture, in waiting the Result of the Councils of those Pow-ers, who were more nearly and immediately interested in the Consequences of the War, and in taking time to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, and to concert with those Allies, who were under the same Engagements with his Ma-jesty, and had not taken Part in the War, such Measures, as should be thought most advisable for the common Safety, and for restoring the Peace of Europe: To declare their unfeigned Confidence in his Majesty, that in all his Considerations upon that great and important Affair, his Majesty would have the strictest Regard to the Honour and Dignity of his Crown and Kingdoms, and to the true Interest of his People: And to assure his Majesty, that he might intirely depend upon the Support and Assistance of his faithful Com-mons, in such Measures as he should find it necessary to enter into, for attaining and securing these great and valuable Pur-poses: And that that House would make such Provision for the Safety and Defence of the Nation, as should secure his Majesty's Kingdoms, Rights and Possessions from all Dangers and Insults; as might preserve the Respect due to the Crown of Great Britain; and not give any Encouragement to the desperate Views of those, who never fail to flatter themselves with the Hopes of great Advantage from publick Troubles and Disorders: And to assure his Majesty, that that House would immediately take into their Consideration such Esti-mates and Demands, as should be made by his Majesty for the publick Service; and raise the Supplies, which should be necessary and answerable to the present Exigency of Affairs, with their known Zeal and Chearfulness, and with a due Regard to the Interest of their Fellow-Subjects: And, that the publick Business might be dispatched with all proper Ex-pedition, that they would endeavour to avoid all Heats and Animosities, and all Occasions that might tend to protract this Session by unnecessary Delays.'

Debate thereon.
Mr Stephen Fox,
Lord Tyrconnell,

Mr Campbell was seconded by Mr Stephen Fox, and back'd by Lord Tyrconnell: Hereupon Mr Shippen stood up and spoke as follows,

Mr Speaker,

Mr Speaker,

* I believe it has always been taken for granted, that the Speeches from the Throne are the Compositions of Ministers of State; upon that Supposition we have always thought ourselves at Liberty to examine every Proposition contained in them; even without Doors People are pretty free in their Remarks upon them: I believe no Gentleman here is ignorant of the Reception the Speech from the Throne, at the Close of last Session, met with from the Nation in general. It is not to be doubted, but the same Freedom may be taken with any Proposition made by any Gentleman in this House, in consequence of such Speech. I will not say the Question moved by the Honourable Gentleman, was penned by the same Hand that penned his Majesty's Speech tho' there is a good deal of Reason to believe it.

* As to the Motion, I have one very great Objection to the whole; it is too cautiously and too generally worded: Under such general Expressions there may be Designs concealed, which the Gentleman, who penned the Motion, does not think proper now to declare; but when they come to be explained, this House may then probably find itself drawn into some Difficulties, by making use of such uncertain Expressions in the Address now proposed. There is indeed one Paragraph, which I shall now particularly lay my Finger on: I cannot pretend to repeat the very Words, for we, who hear the Speech and the Motion but once read, are obliged in some manner to shoot flying; I think it proposes for us to say in our Address, 'That we will support his Majesty in all those Measures, which he shall think it necessary to enter into.' Now, I am afraid, that under such a general Expression, there may be couched, or at least it may hereafter be insisted on that there is couched, a Promise of a Vote of Credit, and therefore I should be willing to have those Words a little explained; for I shall always endeavour, as much as I can, to prevent this House being rashly drawn into such Promises: I shall not pretend to offer any Amendment till I have heard other Gentlemen's Sentiments; I now only lay my Finger upon this Part of the Motion; after other Gentlemen have spoke, I may possibly give my Opinion farther, and perhaps offer an Amendment; but I could wish rather that the Words were left out.'

Sir John Hynde Cotton spoke next:

Sir John Hynde
Cotton.

Mr Speaker,

* I agree in a great Measure with the Motion; but I have an Objection to the Passage where we promise to provide for the Security of his Majesty's Kingdoms, *Rights, and Possessions*: Now, Sir, these last Words are so general, that I am afraid they may include his Majesty's German Dom-

nions

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nions ; I am persuaded they will be understood in this Sense by all without Doors, whatever this House may intend to mean by it : The Gentleman who opened the Debate has, 'tis true, satisfy'd me and I believe every Gentleman in the House, that no such Thing is intended ; but I think it likewise necessary to satisfy the World without Doors ; I think it incumbent upon us, to assure our Constituents, that no such Thing was ever meant, and therefore I think it will be proper to add some explanatory Words ; for which Reason I shall beg Leave to move for this Amendment, viz. that the Words, *thereunto belonging*, may be added after the Word *Possessions*, so that the Sentence will run thus, ' As shall secure his Majesty's Kingdoms, Rights and ' Possessions, thereunto belonging, from all Dangers and In-
' sults.'

Mr Campbell.

Hereupon Mr Campbell replied :

Mr Speaker,

' I believe I did open the Affair before us in the Manner the honourable Gentleman was pleased to mention : But it was not from an Opinion, that there really was any Possibility for putting such a Sense upon those Words, as the Gentleman seems to be apprehensive of : They are so fully explained, both by what goes before, and by what comes after, that there is no Room for imagining, they ever were meant to comprehend his Majesty's German Dominions ; every Man must see they relate only to the foreign Rights and Possessions belonging to the Crown of Great Britain : I gave some Explanation of them, only to preclude any Exception being taken, by Gentlemen's considering those general Words by themselves, and without Regard to what went before, or followed after : But to any Gentleman either within or without Doors, who considers the whole together, there cannot so much as a Doubt arise about the Meaning ; they can relate to nothing but what belongs to his Majesty as King of Great Britain, therefore I cannot think there is the least Occasion for the Amendment proposed.'

Lord Coleraine.

Then Lord Coleraine stood up and said :

Mr Speaker,

' The Gentleman who spoke last, has not in the least satisfied me, as to the Meaning to be put upon the Words objected to ; for if those Words be taken in a strict grammatical Sense, they must certainly comprehend his Majesty's German Dominions : Those Dominions are certainly a Part of his Majesty's Possessions, and as such must be comprehended under those general Words ; nor can I see any Restriction put upon them, either by what goes before, or what follows after ; even the Amendment proposed, will not, I am afraid, be sufficient to restrain them as they ought to be,
and

and therefore I am of Opinion, that the Amendment ought to be in these Words, *belonging to the Crown of Great Britain*; so as that the Sentence may run thus, 'As shall secure his Majesty's Kingdoms, and all the Rights and Possessions *belonging to the Crown of Great Britain*, from all Dangers and Insults.'

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Mr Henry Pelham spoke next, as follows:

Mr H. Pelham.

Mr Speaker,

'The Question moved by the honourable Gentleman was, I thought, so aptly worded, and, to use my worthy Friend's Expression, so cautiously worded, that I did not imagine any Objection would have been made to it. As to the Words, *Rights* and *Possessions*, the proper Meaning of them seems to me certain and apparent: Doubts have lately been raised about some of those Dominions, which properly belong to the Crown of Great Britain; and tho' there never was any Foundation for those Doubts, yet some Gentlemen have strongly insisted there was still something wanting, something farther necessary to be done, in order to secure her Enjoyment of those Possessions: From that Consideration alone, if there were no other, every Gentleman must conclude, all that could be meant by those general Words, was, to comprehend the several British Possessions in foreign Parts; but as to his Majesty's German Dominions, as they in no way belong to the Crown of Great Britain, which is mentioned in the very next Sentence, I can't believe any Gentleman in this House, or without Doors, will ever imagine they were meant to be comprehended under those general Words, therefore I can't think any Amendment necessary.'

Then Mr Pulteney stood up and said:

Mr Pittcey.

Mr Speaker,

'When I heard his Majesty's Speech, and the Motion made by the honourable Gentleman, I was in Hopes, Sir, we should have separated to Day without any Debate; yet I must own, the Words taken Notice of by my honourable Friend [*Mr Shippen*] did at first strike me a little. I was indeed a little afraid of the Consequences, or at least of the Use that might be made of such Words, but I was resolved to pass them over in Silence: However, now they are taken Notice of, I must say, some Amendment in order to restrain them a little, will not be unnecessary. I am not for leaving them out entirely, because one Part of his Majesty's Speech would stand without any Answer; and I am unwilling this House should, upon any Occasion, shew the least Want of Respect and Complaisance towards his Majesty. I therefore take the Liberty to propose an Amendment, but I must acquaint the House, that the Motion I am to make

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with the greater Confidence, because this very Morning I look'd over some of the Journals of the House, together with my honourable Friend, by which I found that famous Vote of Credit was agreed to in this House, April 12, 1727. towards the Close of the Session: I remember there was a very thin House, and no other Foundation for that Vote, hardly indeed any material Argument offered in Favour of it, than what has been mentioned by my honourable Friend. I remember it bore a very strenuous Debate, and that the Gentleman [*Mr Winnington*] who sits behind the honourable Person who spoke last, had a very considerable Share in that Debate, and was one of the Tellers against the Question.

‘ Whether any such Use is now intended to be made of the general Expressions objected to, I shall not say; but that I do not take to be the Matter in Dispute: The proper Question is whether any such Use can be made of those general Expressions? For if it can, we are not to depend upon the Assurances of any Member of this House that it will not; therefore, lest any such Use should hereafter be made of those general Expressions, it is highly necessary some Words should be added, for restraining them to what is now declared to be the Meaning and Intention of them: For my own Part, I am very easy about it, because I am now free to declare, that if ever any Vote of Credit of the same Nature with those lately agreed to, be proposed or moved for in this House, I shall always be against any such, as long as I have the Honour to sit in this House; nor shall any general Words, or any express Promise contained in any former Address, be of the least Weight with me in such a Debate.’

Mr Winnington.

Mr Gibbon.

Mr Sandys.

Sir Wm. Yonge.

Hereupon Mr Winnington gave an Account of the Vote of Credit agreed to in the Year 1727: But Mr Gibbon and Mr Sandys objecting to his Account of that Transaction, Sir William Yonge spoke as follows:

Mr Speaker,

‘ I was at some Distance, when the honourable Gentleman on the Floor first mentioned the Case, which seems now to be the Subject of Debate; and tho’ I had not look’d into the Journals this Morning, yet I could not but think it was impossible, that ever any House of Commons should have proceeded in the Manner represented. I have now look’d upon the Journals of that and the preceeding Session, and as I have the Book in my Hand, I shall from thence set that Matter in a clear Light. In the Year 1726, his late Majesty sent an express Message to the House of Commons then sitting, [*See Vol. I. p. 369.*] by which he acquainted them, that in order to prevent and frustrate such Designs, as had been formed against the particular Interest of this Nation and the general Peace of Europe, he found it necessary

not

not only to augment his Maritime Force, but to concert such other Measures as might most effectually conduce to these desirable Ends; and as these Services would require some extraordinary Expence, his Majesty hoped he should be enabled, by the Assistance of Parliament, to encrease the Number of Seamen then before voted and granted for the Service of that Year; and to enter into and make good such Engagements, as the Circumstances and Exigency of Affairs might require. Upon this Message, the House of Commons, as in Duty they ought, voted and presented an Address to his Majesty, [See Vol. I. p. 370.] that he would be pleased to make such Addition to the Number of Seamen then before voted; and to concert such other Measures, as his Majesty should in his great Wisdom think would best conduce to the Security of the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and to the Preservation of the Peace of Europe; and assured his Majesty, that the House would effectually provide for, and make good all such Expences and Engagements, as should be made for obtaining those great and desirable Ends.

‘At the Beginning of next Session his Majesty, in his Speech [See Vol. I. p. 375.] expressly said, That as the Expence, he had in the preceeding Year been in a particular Manner intrusted to make, had amounted to no considerable Sum; and the publick Utility might again require the like Services to be performed, he hoped they would again repose the same Trust and Confidence in him. To this the House of Commons, in their Address of Thanks, [See Vol. I. p. 382.] as expressly answer and promise, that they would repose such a Trust and Confidence in his Majesty, as the publick Utility should require, and as his Majesty should find reasonable and necessary for carrying on the great Work, in which his Majesty was engaged, for the Interest and Security of his People, and the common Cause of Europe.

‘Thus every Gentleman may see, that the Vote of Credit agreed to at the End of that Session, was not in Consequence of a few general Words in their Address of Thanks, in Return to his Majesty’s Speech at the Beginning of the Session: But in Consequence of an express Demand in the Speech, and as express a Promise in the Address of Thanks; and from thence, I think, every Gentleman may see how vastly different that Case is from what is now the Subject of Debate.’

Then Mr Scrope stood up, and gave an exact Account of the several Votes of Credit passed by the House; and declar’d it to be his Opinion, that there was no Occasion for any Amendment to the Address: Hereupon Mr Pulteney rose up again and said,

Mr Scrope.

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Mr Pulteney.

Sir,

* The honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, has, in a few Words, explained how the several Votes of Credit have been granted; he and I do not differ much in our Accounts; but the honourable Gentleman, who spoke with the Book in his Hand, and set out with a Promise of clearing that Matter fully, has, in my Opinion, and, I believe, in the Opinion of every Gentleman who heard him, left the Matter just where he found it; therefore I would advise him, for the future, to speak without Book.

* Can any Gentleman imagine, that, in Consequence of the Paragraph of his late Majesty's Speech mentioned by the honourable Gentleman, or the Answer thereto in the Address of Thanks, a Vote of Credit was or ought to have been agreed to, without a new Message from his Majesty, signifying, that the publick Utility did actually again require the reposing of such a Trust and Confidence in his Majesty, as had been reposed in him the preceeding Year? Does any Gentleman suppose, that this House is to repose such a Trust and Confidence in the Crown, only because it is demanded by the Crown, and without assigning any Reason for so doing? No, Sir, I appeal to every Gentleman present when that Address was agreed to, whether he did not think, that all that was meant or intended by those general Assurances in their Address of Thanks, was, that they would again repose the same Trust and Confidence in his Majesty, if upon a new Message, it could be shewn them, that the publick Utility required it: But Gentlemen found afterwards another Use made of those general Expressions; they were at the End of the Session made the only Argument for agreeing to a Vote of Credit; and lest the same Thing should be again practised, we ought to be extremely cautious of putting any such general Expressions in our Address of Thanks.

* When I first stood up, I said I had no Intention of making a Division or Difference amongst us to Day, and the honourable Gentleman, who spoke next after me, said, he was glad to find me in that Way of Thinking. Sir, I am now in the same Way of Thinking I always was; and if other Gentlemen think in the same Way they have lately taken up, I am afraid we shall have many and great Differences before this Session can well be at an End. The honourable Gentleman said he did not remember, whether the Case of a Vote of Credit I mentioned was of a late or old Date: Alas, Sir, there are no such Votes of Credit to be found of an old Date; Votes of Credit of old were of a very different Nature, they were never so much as asked, but for some particular Purposes expressly mentioned; the Sum was always

always limited ; the Parliament became Sureties only for that Sum ; and an exact Account was afterwards given to Parliament to what Purposes the Money so granted was applied : But our late Votes of Credit have all been granted in the Dark ; we have granted Sums unlimited without knowing to what Uses the Money so to be raised was to be applied ; and we could never have any proper Account, tho' often asked for, how the Money was disposed of.

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‘ However, Sir, tho' I wish we may separate to Day without any Division, yet I hope we shall have many Days after this to enter into the Consideration of Affairs of very great Consequence. The calamitous Situation of our Affairs both at Home and Abroad necessarily requires the Consideration of Parliament: There are many, many Grievances both foreign and domestick, under which the Nation groans at present, and which call loudly for Redress ; therefore, tho' we promise not to protract or prolong the Session by unnecessary Delays, yet I hope we shall not separate before we have taken all those Matters properly under our Consideration : The State of the Nation must be called for, and, I dare say, this House of Commons, which has shewn so much Regard for their Fellow-Subjects, will envy any succeeding House of Commons the Glory of redressing those many Grievances we now labour under : On such an Occasion, I hope, Gentlemen will be emulous who shall attend best ; and when such a Spirit of Liberty appears over the whole Nation, I am convinced no Man will dare desert his Duty in this House, when Affairs of such Moment demand his Attendance in Parliament.’

The above Amendments not being insisted on, the Question was put upon Mr Campbell's Motion, and agreed to without a Division : A Committee was also appointed to draw up an Address of Thanks accordingly.

Mr Campbell's Motion agreed to.

January 18. The said Address was reported to the House and agreed to, as follows :

Most gracious Sovereign,

‘ **W** E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return your Majesty our humblest Thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne. We are truly sensible of your Majesty's Goodness ; and hear with the deepest Sense of Gratitude the Concern you are pleased to express, for the War unhappily begun in Europe ; and acknowledge with the highest Satisfaction this new Proof your Majesty has given us, of your great Wisdom in waiting at this nice and critical Juncture, the Result of the Councils of those Powers, who are more
‘ nearly

The Address.

Anno 7. Geo. II.

1743-44.

nearly and immediately interested in the Consequences of this War, before your Majesty makes any final Determination for your own Conduct; not wondering, that the same Prudence and Precaution, the same Concern and Circumspection, that have guided and directed every Step hitherto taken in your Majesty's happy and auspicious Reign, should now induce you to take Time to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, and to concert with those Allies, who are under the same Engagements with your Majesty without having taken Part in the War, particularly the States General of the United Provinces, such Measures, as shall be thought most adviseable for the common Safety, and for restoring the Peace of Europe.

That your Majesty in all your Transactions, in this great and important Affair, will have the strictest Regard to the Honour and Dignity of your Crown and Kingdom, and to the true Interest of your People, is what not only your Majesty's royal Assurances, but our happy Experience of all your Majesty's past Conduct leave us no Room to doubt.

And as we have an entire Confidence in your Majesty's Judgment to discern, and Solicitude to procure the Welfare and Interest of your Subjects, so your Majesty may depend upon the effectual Support and ready Assistance of your faithful Commons in all such Measures, as your Majesty shall find it necessary to enter into for attaining and securing these great Ends.

And we beg Leave farther to assure your Majesty, that your Commons will make such Provision for the Safety of your Kingdoms, as the present Situation of Affairs and Exigency of the Times require; such Provisions, as shall effectually secure your Majesty's Kingdoms, Rights, and Possessions, from all Insults and Dangers; as shall preserve the Respect due to the British Nation Abroad, and guard its Safety at Home; that not the least Encouragement may be given to the desperate Views of those, who never fail to flatter themselves with Hopes of some Advantage from Publick Troubles and Disorders, and of molesting the inseparable Interests of your Majesty and your People.

Such Estimates and Demands, as your Majesty shall think fit to lay before your Commons for the Publick Service, shall be immediately taken into our Consideration; and your Majesty may depend on our known Zeal for raising such Supplies, as shall be necessary and answerable to the present Circumstances, with our usual Chearfulness and approved Fidelity, and a due Regard both to the Ease and Interest of our Fellow Subjects.

And

‘ And that the Publick Business may be dispatched with all proper Expedition, and the present Session not protracted by any unnecessary Delays, we will endeavour to avoid all Heats and Animosities, and to proceed with that Unity, which the Justice and Prudence of your Majesty’s mild and wise Government may expect and claim, and may give Weight to our Deliberations, and maintain the Dignity of Parliament.’

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Jan. 19. The above Address was presented to the King, who return’d the following Answer :

Gentlemen,

‘ I Return you my Thanks for this very dutiful, affectionate, and loyal Address, and for the Confidence you repose in Me, which, you may be assured, shall always be employed for the Honour of my Crown, and the true Interest of my People.’

The King’s Answer
thereto.

Jan. 23. The House resolv’d, That an Address be presented to his Majesty, to give Directions, that a Copy of the Treaty between his Majesty and the Emperor, concluded at Vienna in the Year 1731, with the secret and separate Articles, and the States Generals Act of Concurrence to the same, should be laid before the House. Then Sir John Rushout stood up, and mov’d, ‘ That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to give Direction, that the Letters and Instructions sent to his Majesty’s Ministers at the Court of France and Spain, relating to the Execution of the Treaty of Seville, should be also laid before the House; upon which ensu’d a Debate, in which Sir William Yonge spoke as follows :

An Address for a
Copy of the Treaty
between his
Majesty and the
Emperor, in 1731.
Resolv’d on.

Sir J. Rushout
moves for Copies
of the Instructions
sent to the British
Ministers in France
and Spain, relating
to the Execution
of the Treaty of
Seville, to be laid
before the House.

Sir,

‘ I do not stand up, to say any Thing against the Power, which this House has of calling for whatever Papers they may think necessary, to give them proper Lights into any Affair they are going to take under Consideration : That the House has such a Power, is what I believe no Gentleman will deny; but then every one must grant, that this Power ought to be used with great Caution and Discretion; no Papers ought to be called for, but those which properly relate to the Affair in Hand, and without which it would be impossible to understand fully and clearly what we are to be about. It has been resolv’d to address his Majesty, to order a Copy of the Treaty of Vienna to be laid before us, but I cannot apprehend what Connection there is or can be, between that Treaty and the Letters and Instructions sent to our Ministers at the Courts of France and Spain, relating to the Treaty of Seville. Can it be sup-

Debate thereon.

Sir W. Yonge.

posed,

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posed, that those Letters and Instructions have any Relation or Concern with a Treaty afterwards concluded with the Emperor, who was not at that Time in good Terms with either of the other two Courts? As all such Negotiations are carry'd on in the most secret Manner possible, it cannot, in my Opinion, be supposed, that our Ministers, either at the Court of France or Spain, knew any Thing of those Negotiations at Vienna, which so happily ended in that Treaty; and therefore it is impossible to suppose, that we can, from the Letters and Instructions sent to them, receive any Light or Information, with respect to the Treaty of Vienna now called for.

‘ But granting, Sir, that some possible Connection might be found out, between the Treaty of Vienna and the Letters and Instructions which the honourable Gentleman has been pleased to move for, yet there is another Rule to be observ'd in the using that Power which this House has of calling for Papers, which, in the present Case will be an effectual Bar to the Motion: Tho' this House has a Power of calling for Papers, yet we ought in no Case to call for those Papers which may contain Secrets, the publishing whereof might be of signal Disadvantage to the Commonwealth; I believe it will be granted, that a Secret communicated once to this House, is in great Danger of not remaining long a Secret: It was never known that a Secret was long kept by any such numerous Assembly; and therefore we ought to be extremely cautious, and never call for any Papers which may contain such Secrets. For my own Part, I do not pretend to know the Nature of those Instructions or Letters; but it is certain, that some of them may contain something not proper to be publish'd to the World at this Juncture; the publishing of them might, perhaps, open old Sores, and give Offence to some of those Powers with whom we have at present a good Understanding; by which his Majesty's Negotiations for restoring the Tranquility of Europe might be very much embarrassed, perhaps render'd entirely fruitless; and therefore I cannot but think, that any such general Call for Papers is now, and always will be of dangerous Consequence.

‘ If this House should at any Time hereafter resolve to take the Treaty of Seville into their Consideration, when that Day comes, if any Gentleman of this House can then lay his Finger on any particular Paper, which he thinks may be necessary for the Information of the House, he may then move for it, and the House may, if they think proper, agree to such a Motion: But to make such a general Motion as the present, and to call for all the Letters and Instructions sent to our Ministers at those two Courts in general, I think

think most improper and irregular, and therefore I shall give my Negative to it.'

To this Sir William Wyndham reply'd,

Sir,

'Notwithstanding what the honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, has said, I cannot help being of Opinion, that the Motion made by my honourable Friend is regular, and that the Papers he has called for, are such as must necessarily tend to give the House a great deal of Information, not only with relation to the Treaty of Seville, but likewise with relation to the Treaty which we shall soon have, I hope, laid before us, in Pursuance of the Resolution we have just now come to; and therefore I take it to be as proper now, as it can be when the Day comes which the Gentleman speaks of.

'As to any Secret which may be contain'd in the Papers call'd for, and which it would not be proper at present to publish to the World, that can be no Argument against the Motion; because, if that should happen to be the Case, his Majesty would communicate to us none but such as contained no such Secrets; and in his Answer to our Address would acquaint us, that the other Letters or Instructions contained such Secrets as were not proper to be reveal'd at present: This would be a proper Answer from his Majesty, and such an Answer as this House would certainly rest satisfied with, unless some very strong Reasons appeared to the contrary: But, Sir, this is an Answer which ought not to be taken from any other Person but his Majesty; It is below the Dignity of this House to take it from any other; it is what no Member of this House ought so much as to insinuate; for any such Insinuation is offering an Indignity to the Crown, because it seems to be a dictating to his Majesty, and prescribing to him what Answer he is to make to the Address of this House. The Gentleman spoke of opening old Sores, and that the publishing of those Papers might give Offence to some of those Powers we are now in Friendship with: This seems to be a very extraordinary Reason against the Motion; for I am sure this Reason will hold equally good against calling for any Treaty, or any Paper relating to foreign Negotiations; and I can see no Difference between denying that the House has a Power to call for any Papers, and making Use of an Argument, which, if allow'd, would render that Power altogether ineffectual: But, Sir, I would gladly know what Prince, what State there is now in Europe, whom we have not disobliged and fallen out with by Turns; and shall it be said, that the publishing of those Negotiations which we carry'd on while we were at Enmity, or at least not in a cordial Friendship

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with them, will open those Sores which were entirely healed up by a new Treaty afterward concluded with them? Does not every Gentleman see, that this Argument strikes against this House's ever desiring to have any foreign Treaty or Negotiation laid before them, except such as have been before published to the World?

As to the Connection between the Papers now moved for and the Treaty just before call'd for, it is in my Opinion evident: For what End have we called for a Copy of the Treaty of Vienna? What are we to consider of, when we enter into the Consideration of that Treaty? Are not we to consider, whether it was for the Benefit of this Nation, or not? And how shall we determine this, without knowing the Circumstances, or those Affairs, which made it necessary for us to conclude such a burthensome Treaty? It is well known, that by that Treaty we enter'd into very great Engagements; Engagements, which, if punctually perform'd, may cost this Nation infinite Sums of Money; and Engagements which we certainly ought not to have enter'd into, if the publick Tranquility could have been established at any cheaper Rate. Is it to be presumed, that the Impossibility, which was found of carrying the Treaty of Seville into Execution, without involving ourselves and all Europe in a bloody War, was what made it necessary for us to agree to those Engagements contain'd in the Treaty of Vienna: And how is it possible for us to determine, whether or no there was an Impossibility of carrying the Treaty of Seville into Execution, without having all those Papers first laid before us, which relate to the Execution of that Treaty? It was, I remember, when first concluded, a Treaty which was much bragg'd of by the Friends of the Gentleman who spoke last; and if it was so good a Thing, I cannot find out why he or his Friends should be so fond of keeping secret either the Means by which it was obtain'd, or the Methods that were afterwards used for carrying it into Execution. As to the Means by which that Treaty was obtain'd, they may not, perhaps, relate much to the Treaty of Vienna; but as to the Methods used for carrying it into Execution, the last of which was the Treaty of Vienna, every Man must see the Connection, and therefore every Man must be convinced, that it is necessary for us to have the Papers now moved for laid before us, before we can properly take the Treaty of Vienna into our Consideration.

His Majesty, Sir, in his Speech from the Throne, recommends the present Situation of Affairs to the Consideration of Parliament; he recommends it to us throughly to weigh and consider all Circumstances before we come to a final Determination; but if such Things as are necessary for

our Information are, when call'd for, refused by those in Power, how is it possible for us to answer his Majesty's Expectations? It must be owned, that we have of late Years been in very odd Circumstances; and our present Situation may, perhaps, in the Opinion of many, be owing, in some Measure to the Mismanagement of those in the Administration; I shall not say it is so; but if this be not the Case, I can see no Reason for refusing the Papers now called for; and if this be really the Case, it ought certainly to be inquir'd into; and the Papers now call'd for, as well as a great many others, must necessarily be laid before us, in order to enable us to make a proper Inquiry, and to apply proper Remedies for those Evils which the Nation labours under at present. Upon the whole, Sir, as I said at first, I think the Motion now made to us most regular; I think it is absolutely necessary for us to have those Papers laid before us; for without them, I am sure, the Resolution we have just now come to can be of no Effect, and therefore I hope the House will agree to the Motion.'

Sir Robert Walpole spoke next :

Sir,

' I stand up to agree in some Part with the honourable Gentleman who spoke last : If we are at present in any unhappy Situation, and if it be but thought, by any Gentleman in this House, that that Situation is any Ways owing to the Mismanagement of those in the Administration, in my Opinion, whoever thinks so, ought to move for this House's going into such an Inquiry; they ought to move for the House to go into a Committee upon the State of the Nation; and, upon the Foot of such an Inquiry, I will willingly join Issue with the honourable Gentleman, or any other Gentleman in this House. Whenever the House shall please to resolve upon going into such a Committee, I promise, that so far as lies in my Power, nothing shall be refused, that is thought proper or necessary for giving the House all the Information, that can be wished or desired : But as that Time is not yet come, I must think that the Motion now under Consideration is very irregular, and seems calculated rather for giving Gentlemen an Opportunity of declaiming against those, who have the Honour to serve the Crown, than for procuring any proper Information to the House, or any Advantage to the Country.

' It is usual, Sir, for some People to make Motions, rather to fix unpopular Things on others, than to have any Information for themselves : They make Motions in order to make a Figure in the Votes, which are sent to all Parts of the Nation, and to serve some particular Ends of their own : When a Negative is put upon any such Motion, they

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1733-34.

Sir R. Walpole.

Anno 7. Geo. II.

1733-34.

are then ready to cry out, ' We would have relief'd you, we ' would have extricated you from all the Difficulties you ' labour under, but we were by Power deny'd the Means of ' doing it.' This, Sir, is a Piece of Management, it is a Sort of Parliamentary Play, which has always been practis'd by those who oppose the Measures of the Administration; I remember it as long as I remember Parliaments, and have by my own Experience been acquainted with it: I can remember Motions made with no other View, but to have a Negative put upon them; and particularly at the Beginning of a Session, the Language among such Gentlemen has always been, ' We must give them no Rest, but make Motion ' after Motion; if they agree in any Motion we make, it ' will distress them; and if they put a Negative upon every ' one, it will render them odious among the People.'

' This, I say, has been always the common Practice of those who are resolved, at any Rate, to oppose the Administration; but I must take Notice that to say, that any Motion in Parliament is refused by Power, is, in my Opinion, a very unparliamentary Way of speaking: When any Motion is made, every Gentleman is at Liberty to debate with Freedom upon it, and to agree or disagree as he thinks reasonable; if it be rejected, it must be by a Majority of the House, and becomes an Act of this House; and to say, that what is an Act of the House, is an Act of Power, is not, I think, speaking in the Language of Parliament.

' I shall likewise agree with the honourable Gentleman, that when any Papers are moved to be called for, the House is not to be told by any Member, or any but his Majesty, that such Papers contain Secrets which must not yet be discover'd; but I hope the Gentleman will agree with me, that it is below the Dignity of this House to present insignificant Addresses to his Majesty; we are not to desire of his Majesty what, evidently and at first Sight, appears to be such as his Majesty cannot comply with; and therefore, when a Motion for any such Address is made, any Gentleman of the House may, nay he ought, if he thinks so, to rise up and shew to the House, that what is desired by the Address moved for, is of such a Nature, that his Majesty cannot comply with it; and this I take to be the Case now before us. In most publick Negotiations, there are some Things may happen which ought never to be revealed; in every Negotiation, some Things, I believe, do happen, which ought not to be published to the World for a great many Years after; and therefore it must be very irregular to desire his Majesty to lay before this House, that is, to publish to the World, all the Letters and Instructions relating to a Negotiation, which happen'd but a very few Years ago.

' Gentlemen

'Gentlemen may assign what Causes they please for the Treaty of Vienna; but when that Treaty comes to be considered by this House, I believe it will appear, that we thereby entered into no extraordinary or burdensome Engagements; it will appear, I believe, that we are not thereby obliged to do any Thing, but what we were by the Nature of Things, and by the Circumstances of the Affairs of Europe, obliged to do, if no such Treaty had ever been made. If this should appear, it will then be certain, that what the honourable Gentleman was pleased to mention, was not the true Cause, or the only Foundation of the Treaty of Vienna; so that, 'till this House has entered into the Consideration of the Treaty of Vienna, and has found that the Engagements thereby entered into were such, as we ought not to have taken upon us, if there was any other Way left of carrying the Treaty of Seville into Execution, without entering into a War; 'till such Time, I say, it cannot so much as be pretended, that there is any Connection between the Letters and Instructions relating to the Execution of the Treaty of Seville, and the Treaty of Vienna now resolved to be called for; and therefore, 'till that Time, the Motion now before us cannot be a proper or a regular Motion.

'Before I conclude, Sir, I must take Notice, that the Way which some Gentlemen have got into, of making Panegyrics, and praising the Ministers for their great and profound Wisdom by way of Irony at one Time, and at other Times calling Names, such as, *A cowardly Administration, a wheedling, shifting Ministry*; (though by the By, I never understood the present to be a shifting Administration; for, as I take it, the great Quarrel amongst us is, that the Administration has not been shifted) such a Way, I say, Sir, is a Method of Speaking, which very ill becomes any Member of this House. Though I cannot agree with Gentlemen who say, that this Nation is at present in so unhappy a Situation; yet I must grant that the Affairs of Europe are not at present in a very happy Situation; and if the Errors or Mismanagement of any of the Administration here, has contributed in the least to the present Posture of Affairs in Europe, I must think that they very little deserve to serve the Crown; but really by some Gentlemen's way of Talking, one would imagine that the Ministers of England were the Ministers of Europe; or that Madness and Folly reigned at this Court, and that the most profound Wisdom prevail'd at all others: If any unforeseen Accidents abroad, if the Ambition of any foreign Prince, or the Misconduct of any foreign Court, produce any untoward Effects, or occasion any Troubles or Commotions in Europe, the Ministers of
England

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England are immediately loaded with the Whole ; it is they that have done the Mischief, and they must answer for it. This, Sir, is a way of treating those who have the Honour to serve the Crown, which to me really seems neither candid nor just : However, I shall trouble you no farther, but only to declare that I shall be against the Motion, which the honourable Gentleman has been pleased to make.'

To this Mr Shippen answer'd,

Sir,

Mr Shippen.

' As the honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, has made grievous Complaints of the Treatment he and his Friends receive from other Gentlemen, I am a good deal surprized that he should, at the same time, fall into that very Error which he so much complains of in others ; for to say, that Gentlemen make Motions, only for the Sake of having an Opportunity to declaim against those in the Administration ; or for the Sake of making a Figure in the Votes, is Language, in my Opinion, as unparliamentary, and treating Gentlemen with as little Candour, as what he has blamed others for.

' I must say, Sir, that it seems to be a very difficult Matter, to know how to please those great Men in the Administration ; for I find that when any Encomiums are made upon them, when any Thing is said in Praise of their Measures, they immediately take it to be meant by way of Irony ; and if any Gentleman happens to give them any Names which may seem to be a little harsh, those they understand exactly as they are spoke, and complain that Gentlemen do not treat them in a parliamentary Way : But, Sir, whatever other Gentlemen may do, I am none of those who have bestowed Panegyrics either upon the present or upon any Administration, and I hope I never was, or ever shall be guilty of calling Names. Perhaps the honourable Gentleman may dislike those Names, which he pretends have been given to him in this House ; whether it be parliamentary Language or not I shall not determine, but I must tell him, that it is very soft and pleasant Language when compared with that of the People of England : Were he to hear them speak, he would hear them speak in a Style very different from that used at Court, or even in this House ; and I believe it would be for his Advantage, to give a little more Attention to the plain Language of those he looks on to be none of his Friends, than to the soothing Flatteries of his Creatures and Parasites about him.

' Sir, Gentlemen may make themselves merry, but what I have said may perhaps, when it is too late, be found to be true ; and whatever the honourable Gentleman and his Friends may pretend to think of the present Motion, I must

must be of Opinion, that it is not only reasonable, but that it is a natural Consequence of what was immediately before moved and agreed to ; and therefore I hope this House will act so consistently with itself, as to agree to the present Motion likewise. What Information we may get from the Papers moved for, with regard to the Treaty of Vienna, the Gentleman who has seen them can best tell ; but as that Treaty was the immediate Consequence of the Negotiations relating to the Execution of the Treaty of Seville, I must think that the Journal of those Negotiations will afford us some Light, with regard to that Treaty which immediately followed ; and therefore I hope the Gentleman will excuse me for not taking it upon his Word, that the Papers called for can have no Manner of Connection with the Treaty, which we seem now resolved to take into Consideration.

Ann^o 7. Geo. II.
1715-34.

Mr Pulteney spoke next :

Sir,

' I stand up now, as I have been obliged to do upon many other Occasions, to assert the Rights and the Privileges of this House ; we have not only a Right to call for what Papers we think necessary for our Information, but we have a Right to have the Papers so called for, laid before us. The honourable Gentleman on the Floor seems highly offended at an Expression, which drop'd from my honourable Friend by me. I will agree with him, that this House may or may not agree with the present, or with any other Motion, that shall hereafter be made by any Gentleman in this House : This is a Privilege, which I hope shall always be preserved, not only in Show, but in Reality ; I hope no Gentleman shall ever attain to such a Power, as to have a Majority in this House always ready to approve what he pleases to propose ; and I will likewise agree with him in this, that when any Motion is rejected by a Majority, it then becomes an Act of the House, in which every Gentleman must acquiesce ; but I hope he will agree with me, that 'till the Question is put upon any Motion, and the Opinion of the House taken upon it, it does not become an Act of the House : Now, as no Question has yet been put upon the present Motion, and as it has yet been opposed only by those who are immediately concerned in the Administration, I think it may properly be said, that what has been asked has been refused by Power, or at least by those in Power.

Mr Pulteney.

' The Gentlemen, who opposed this Motion, are forc'd to acknowledge, that this House has a Power of calling for what Papers we please ; but then, say they, you ought not to call for the Papers relating to any foreign Negotiation, because all such Papers must contain Secrets which ought not to be published.

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lished to the World. Is not this saying and unsaying in the same Breath? You may call for what Papers you please; but you must not call for the Papers relating to any foreign Negotiation, because the Addressing for those appears, at first Sight, to be such an Address as his Majesty cannot comply with. Sir, I say, that when this House finds it necessary, they may call for all the Papers relating to any Negotiation whatever, and may insist upon having all of them laid before the House. Do not we know, that upon such Occasions we name a secret and select Committee to inspect such Papers, and to report what they find in them relating to the Affair under our Consideration; and I hope we shall always have in this House ten or a dozen Gentlemen, as capable to distinguish what ought to be kept secret, and as capable to keep those Secrets, as any Secretary or other Minister of State, that is or ever shall be in this Nation.

* I am really surpris'd to hear Gentlemen pretend, that there is no Connection between the Negotiations for carrying the Treaty of Seville into Execution, and the Treaty of Vienna; when by that very Treaty of Vienna the Treaty of Seville was actually carry'd into Execution. It is plain to the whole World, that the Treaty of Vienna was the last Negotiation set on Foot for carrying the Treaty of Seville into Execution; and in order to judge of this last Negotiation, we only desire to see the Papers relating to the preceding Negotiations, which were carry'd on for the same Purpose. It may, for what I know, be true, that by the Treaty of Vienna we enter'd into no Engagements, but such as we were oblig'd to by the Nature of Things, and the Circumstances of the Affairs of Europe; but it must surely be granted, that an express Stipulation is more binding than a natural Obligation; and that no prudent Man will confirm a natural Obligation by an express Stipulation, unless he has some very good Consideration for so doing: If we had enter'd into no express Engagements, we should have left our Posterity in the same Case we were in ourselves; they might then have judg'd as well as we, by the Nature of Things and the Circumstances of the Affairs of Europe, as they should then have appear'd to them; but now they are pinned down, they must judge only by the Terms of the Treaty which we have made for them; and though the Nature of Things and the Circumstances of Europe, should be entirely alter'd, it will, without Doubt, be insisted on, that they ought to perform those Engagements we have subjected them to.

* The honourable Gentleman said, that if the Nation was in an unhappy Situation, and if that Situation was owing to any Mismanagement at Home, it ought to be inquired into;

and

and that, on the Foot of such an Inquiry, he was ready to join Issue with any Gentleman in this House. On that Foot, Sir, I am ready to join Issue with him: To me there is nothing appears more certain, than that we are in a most lamentable and calamitous Situation; and even from the Lights I have already I am convinced, beyond all Doubt, that our present Situation is owing to the Mismanagement of those at home: It may, I believe, be proved, to the Satisfaction of every unbiassed Person; but I must say, that if the honourable Gentleman's Opinion prevails in the present Debate, he is taking a very effectual Method to prevent its being in the Power of any Gentleman to bring Proofs of what I have now asserted. While he is possessed of all or most of the Materials necessary for such a Proof, it is an easy Matter first to deny Gentlemen any Access to them, and then to throw out a Defiance; but this will not, I hope, be in his Power; I hope this House will, in the present Question, join with me in Opinion, that it is absolutely necessary for us to have the Papers now call'd for, laid before us.

I would gladly know, how it is possible for the Parliament to give the Nation any Relief in its present melancholy Circumstances, if we deny Access to those Particulars from which only we can know what our present Situation is. If the Question should come before us, Whether or no we ought to take any Part in the present War? Can we pass any Judgment upon such a Question, without first knowing how we stand engaged to the several Powers abroad? And can we know any Thing of this, without first examining the many Treaties and Negotiations which have been carry'd on of late Years? If we are to take no Part in the War, we must provide for the Safety of the Nation: How can we do this properly, and as it ought to be done? How can we judge of the Estimates that are to be laid before us for that End, without knowing what Danger the Nation is in? And how can we know our Danger, without knowing how we stand with respect to our foreign Alliances and Engagements? For these Ends, Sir, we must have not only the Papers now moved for, but, in my Opinion, a great many others will be necessary, in order to give us those Lights which we ought certainly to have.

As I have said before, Sir, even as Things now appear to me, all that has happen'd is the Work of our own Hands; the Weakness of those whom many already look upon as our Friends, and the Strength of our Enemies, is all of our own doing; Gentlemen were told of it at the Time when those Transactions were carrying on, but they were too wise to listen to Advice. When the whole Cham

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and Series of our Management for several Years past, comes to be impartially look'd into, what I now say will be found to be true: Certain Causes will be found producing certain Effects; these Effects afterwards becoming Causes, and producing other Effects, 'till at last we have arrived at the miserable State we are now in; but these are Matters, which I hope will soon come to be more fully open'd, and clearly stated to this House.

The honourable Gentleman said, 'That Motions were often made with no other View, but to have Negatives put upon them;' if that be the Case as to the present Motion, the Gentleman and his Friends may easily disappoint us of the Negative we are supposed to expect; and I wish with all my Heart, that the Gentleman would give himself the Pleasure of disappointing me and some other Gentlemen, the obliging of whom did never, I am persuaded, yield him any great Delight.'

Mr Danvers.

Mr Danvers stood up next, and spoke as follows:

Sir,

'I am entirely against your Question; I think it is a most unreasonable Proposition; and that it would be altogether as right and as dutiful in us to address his Majesty to bring his Cabinet, with all the Papers in it, and lay it upon the Table, or upon the Floor of this House, to be perused by the Members. An honourable Gentleman, who spoke last but one, talked of the Language of the People of England, and seemed to insinuate, as if they abused and rail'd at the Ministry. As to that, I have been, since last Session, in several Counties of England, and have conversed with People of different Parties, and I never heard any Man reproach the Ministry; on the contrary, they seem'd all to think, that the only Dispute among us here was who should be Minister; and as this is a Dispute which the Generality of the People of England are no way concerned in, Gentlemen are much mistaken, if they imagine that the People of England trouble their Heads about it.'

The Question was then put upon Sir John Rushout's Motion, and carry'd in the Negative, by 195 to 104.

Mr Sandys's Motion for the Instructions given to the British Minister in Poland, to be laid before the House,

Jan. 25. Mr Sandys mov'd, that the Instructions given to the British Minister in Poland, Anno 1729, might be laid before the House: He introduced the said Motion as follows:

Sir,

'We have been told, not only upon the Occasion of our Address, in Answer to his Majesty's Speech from the Throne; but have likewise heard from Gentlemen in a late Debate, that the principal Causes of the War now carrying on in Europe, proceeded from those Obstructions which were thrown in their Way, at the late Election of a King

King of Poland: I shall therefore beg Leave to move, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to give Direction, that the several Instructions to Mr Woodward, his Majesty's Minister in Poland, in the Year 1729, be laid before the House.

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' It is very well known, Sir, that the late King of Poland was at that Time in a bad State of Health, so bad, that even his Life was despair'd of, and therefore we need not doubt, but that there were some Measures then laid down for regulating, or at least influencing the Election of a new King: As we had a Minister there at that Time, it is as little to be doubted, but that we were at least consult'd, perhaps, by all Parties concern'd; we had a Right to intermeddle, because there are, I believe, some Treaties subsisting between us and the Republick of Poland; and we were certainly interested in that great Event, because of the extensive Trade carry'd on by our Subjects in that fruitful Kingdom: 'Tis true, the then King of Poland happen'd to live for a few Years after; but it is probable, that the Measures then agreed on, were much the same with those which have been since pursu'd; or at least, that the Measures then concerted, very much influenced some of those Measures which have been since carry'd into Execution: For this Reason, I should be glad to see, and I think it is absolutely necessary for this House to see the Instructions, at least, that were sent to our Ministers at that Time, before we can determine any Thing as to the State in which we stand at present, with respect to the War now unhappily begun in Europe; and therefore I have taken the Liberty to make you this Motion, which I hope the House will agree to.'

This Motion being seconded by Mr Chetwynd, a Debate ensu'd, in which Mr Henry Pelham spoke to this Effect:

Mr Chetwynd.

Sir,

' The Motion now made by the worthy Gentleman, can, in my Opinion, bear but a very short Debate. For my own Part, I really think it a most improper Motion, nor can I apprehend what the Gentleman means by going so far back as the Year 1729. I do not, indeed, remember any Thing of the King of Poland's bad State of Health at that Time; but let that be as it will, it is certain that if he was then indispos'd, he recovered of that Indisposition, and lived a long Time after in a State of perfect Health; and even when he did die, I believe it will be granted, that but a few Days before his Death happened, he was in as good a State of Health, and likely to live as most Men of his Age in Europe.

Mr H. Pelham.

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' I wish, Sir, as has been wished in a former Debate, that Gentlemen would be so candid as to declare what they really intend by such Motions as they have made of late : If they would once fairly tell what they mean, we might form some Judgment, whether what they asked for was necessary for attaining the Ends they propose ; and in that Case, if any Thing necessary or reasonable should be refused them, they would then have some just Ground of Complaint ; but thus to move, Day after Day, for all Letters, all Instructions, sent to his Majesty's Ministers at the several Courts of Europe in general, is a Method of Proceeding altogether new in this House ; and if these Motions were comply'd with, I can see nothing they could possibly tend to, but to the increasing of those Troubles and Commotions which are already begun in Europe : This would, as I take it, be one of the certain Consequences of the Motion now made to us ; and therefore, as a Person no way concerned in the Administration, but as a Member of this House, I shall heartily give my Negative to the Question.'

Mr H. Walpole,

Mr Horatio Walpole spoke next.

Sir,

' After what has been said by my honourable Friend, it may, perhaps, be thought that I give both this House and myself unnecessary Trouble, in urging any thing farther against the Question now before us. If we should agree to this Motion, it would, in my Opinion, shew a very great Disrespect to his Majesty ; for as his Majesty has from the Throne assured us, that he had no Share in those Measures which have occasioned the present War, other than by his good Offices ; and as this Motion, if it means any thing, means to insinuate that his Majesty has had a Share in the late Transactions relating to the Election of a King of Poland, our agreeing to it would plainly be to tell his Majesty, that we suspect he has had a very great Share in those Measures which gave occasion to the present War ; and therefore, Sir, I must say, that I have a better Opinion of this House, than to believe that they will ever agree to a Motion so inconsistent with that Duty and Respect, which we have expressed in our Address of Thanks to his Majesty.

' There are some Gentlemen, who seem to have laid it down as a Principle, that every thing that's wrong, happen in what Corner of Europe it will, must be owing to the Mismanagement of the Ministers of Great Britain ; and those Gentlemen do all they can to persuade other People to think in the same manner ; but to imagine, that if any wrong Steps have been made by any Power in Europe, with regard to the Election of a King of Poland, they must be owing to the Misconduct of our Ministers ; to think that any Instructions
given

given to our Minister in Poland in the Year 1729, can have the least Relation to what has lately happen'd, either in that or any other Kingdom in Europe, has really something so ridiculous in it, that I can hardly believe the Gentleman was in earnest when he made the Motion. From such Motions it may be expected, that in a few Days some Gentlemen will rise up and move for the Instructions sent to the Lord Kinnoul at Constantinople, in order to prove the Victory of the Persians owing to them.

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The same Gentlemen have of late pretended to be very artful and dexterous, not only in discovering the hidden Causes of Things past, but in prophesying and foretelling future Events. When ought comes to pass of Moment, they cry, O! this we told you long ago; and thus they pretend to have foretold every great Event that has lately happen'd in Europe; but I would gladly ask them, Where or when any of them have prophesy'd, what Potentate, or in what Manner any Potentate, would interfere in the Election of a King of Poland? Have any of them prophesy'd that the King of Sardinia would grant a Passage to the French Troops through his Territories to Italy; or did they prophesy, that he would join with France in declaring War against the Emperor? Have any of them prophesy'd, that the two strong Forts of Milan and Pizzighitone, that might have been reasonably supposed to have held out a Siege of five or six Months, should have been taken in a few Weeks? In short, Sir, they have pretended to foretel every Thing, and have really foretold nothing; I've lately seen a Pamphlet to this Purpose; but being a Digression from the Question, I shall say no more about it. As to the Motion itself, it appears to me in such an odd Light, that I dare say, the Gentleman who made it, when he considers better of it, will rather withdraw it, than have it stand in the Votes of this House; if he does not, I shall certainly give my Negative to it.

Sir Charles Wager spoke next against the Motion as follows: Sir Charles Wager.

Sir,

* The honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, having mentioned Pamphlets, brings to my Mind that I have lately seen one, [Intituled, *Observations on the Conduct of Great Britain, with regard to the Negotiations and other Transactions abroad. 1729*] which I believe I should not have read, had I not been told that my Name was mentioned in it. 'Tis true, that, about the Times mentioned in that Pamphlet, we were obliged to fit out some Squadrons of Men of War; and tho' I thought myself then old enough to be laid aside, yet I had the Honour to be appointed by his Majesty Commander of some of them: With one of these Squadrons I sailed to the

the Baltick, for the Relief of Sweden, which was then in a very dangerous Situation, the Muscovites having then a large Squadron at Sea, with which they were plundering and ravaging their Coasts, at the same Time that they were attacking them with a numerous Army by Land. The very News of our fitting out such a Squadron for the Baltick had so good an Effect, that before I arrived at Stockholm, the Muscovites had agreed to conclude a Peace with Sweden, upon reasonable Terms; so that when I came to Stockholm, I was told by the Court, that they had no farther Occasion for our Fleet; but the Fright the poor People were in, where I touch'd, and their Joy on the seeing our Fleet, was a plain Demonstration of the Danger they thought themselves in. I went afterwards to the Coast of Spain, [*In Dec. 1726*] with another Squadron, where I cruiz'd, and look'd out with all possible Care for the Spanish Flotilla, then expected home; they, indeed, had the good Fortune to escape me; but if the Gentleman who wrote that Pamphlet, knew the Place I was obliged to cruize in, and the only Place I could possibly cruize in, for the intercepting of the Flotilla; and if he knew the great Seas that roll there in the Winter-Time, he would not have had Occasion for long Nights, or foggy Weather, as a Reason for my having missed meeting with the Flotilla; he would have known, that at that Time of the Year they might have pass'd even within my View, without its being in my Power either to come up with them, or to fire a Gun at them: But Gentlemen often censure other People's Actions, because they know nothing of the Matter about what they take upon them to criticize. I have served as an Officer in the Navy ever since the Revolution, and, I hope, I have hitherto served without the least Reproach: I am sure I have always endeavour'd to serve my Country to the utmost of my Power; and therefore, I hope, Gentlemen will take Care not to throw any Reflections upon my Conduct: But some People seem to think, that, with our Squadrons, we may do what ever we please, and that if a Squadron is fitted out we must fight, whether there be any Occasion for it or no; I believe they think, that with the last Squadron we had at Spithead, we ought to have fought the Dutch, who came and join'd us, rather than not to have fought at all; but surely this, as it is a very monstrous, cannot be a good Opinion: We may, perhaps, this Year fit out a Squadron, and possibly they too may go no farther than Spithead, they certainly will not, unless there be a Necessity for proceeding farther; but when all our Neighbours are fitting out Squadrons, and making great military Preparations, it would surely be very imprudent

prudent in us, not to put ourselves, at least, in a Posture of Defence,

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Then Mr William Pulteney spoke in Behalf of Mr Sandys's Motion :

Mr W. Pulteney.

Sir,

' I am very apt to believe, my honourable Friend over the Way, who made you this Motion, was very serious, as he always is in every Motion he makes in this House. The Reason he gave for his Motion was a very strong one, so strong, that it has not as yet met with any Answer; for if it should appear, that we, at the Time he mentions, concerted Measures in Conjunction with other Powers, for regulating or influencing the next Election of a King of Poland; and that the Plan then laid down has been since pursu'd, these Instructions will certainly inform us, and from thence we may know a little more of our present Situation than we do at present: But I find, if the Opinion of some Gentlemen prevail, we are to have no Information at all; and in that Case, how we can answer his Majesty's Expectations, who desires our Advice and Assistance, I leave to every Gentleman to judge.

' The honourable Gentleman, who spoke last but one, talk'd of Prophecies, and ask'd what those Prophets had prophesy'd: Had they, said he, prophesied this? or had they prophesy'd that? What Prophets or Prophecies he means I do not know; but I may say, that without any great Spirit of Prophecy, the Moment you separated the Courts of Vienna and Spain, every Thing that has since happened might have been easily foretold. The Gentleman likewise talk'd of Pamphlets: I have likewise seen a Pamphlet, lately publish'd, and whether from the Style it is wrote in, or the Perplexity in the Way of Thinking which is discover'd in every Part of it, I think I can be almost certain as to the Author of it. [*Here he gave a Description of the Person he supposed to be the Author of it.*] The whole of this fine Performance results in this, That the Nation is in a very bad Situation; something must be done, but what is to be done the Author does not know: If we do one Thing, we are still in the same Situation we were before, perhaps worse; if we do another Thing, our Case will still be the same: In short, he at last leaves us in the same wretched Condition he found us; upon which, Sir, I must suppose this Case: Suppose a Physician to have a Patient for some Time under his Hands; the Patient lingers and decays, and at last finds himself in so low and weak a Condition, that he begins to despair; the Physician is sent for; the Patient complains, and asks what's to be done; the Doctor answers gravely, Sir, you are indeed in a very bad State:

State: There are but two or three Ways of treating your Distemper, and I am afraid neither of them will do; a Vomit may throw you into Convulsions, and kill you at once; a Purge may give you a Diarrhea, which would certainly carry you off in a short Time; and to bleed you, Sir, I have already bled you so much, and so often, that you can bear it no longer: In such a Situation, would not the Patient probably exclaim against his Doctor, and say, Sir, you have always pretended to be a regular Physician, but I have found you an arrant Quack; I had an excellent Constitution when I first came into your Hands, but you have quite destroyed it; and now I find I have no other Chance for saving my Life, but by calling for the Help of some regular Physician.

But, Sir, to be altogether serious, for the Subject is really of a very serious Nature: if Gentlemen have a Mind to do something for the Safety of the Nation in our present melancholy Circumstances, and seriously to ask the Advice and Assistance of Parliament, those Things that are necessary for our Information must not be deny'd: Their being refus'd by a Majority, which seems to be almost the only Argument urged by Gentlemen who oppose these Motions, will not have any Weight with the Nation; Gentlemen, 'tis true, must acquiesce in what is done by the Majority, but it will not have all that Force without Doors, as some may imagine. I know, Sir, it is not allowable to say any Thing against what is done by a Majority of this House; but there are certain Methods of Speaking, which are not against Order, and which might, notwithstanding, make Gentlemen feel, that an Answer could be given, even to that unanswerable Argument, of its having been done by a Majority.

I have known, in former Parliaments, most scandalous Things done by a corrupt Majority; any Thing's being done or resolved on by a Majority, even of this House, will not make it right, nor convince the Nation that it is so: We know what Opinion the whole Nation had of that wicked Scheme, which was before us last Session; we know what Abhorrence they still have of it, and of many of those who voted for it; and yet that Scheme, to use an honourable Person's own Words, was attended with a Majority in every Division; but this is foreign to the Question, I only mention it to shew how unfairly that Argument of a Majority is urged by those of the other Side.

In a late Debate, Sir, Gentlemen found fault with the Question then moved, because of its being too general. They desir'd that we would be a little more particular, and lay our Finger upon some Paper or Papers relating to some particular

particular Transaction, which might give us the Information we desir'd, with respect to our present Situation: The Election of a King of Poland, and the Measures that have been taken by certain Powers, for influencing, or rather for directing that Election, has been owned upon all Hands to have been what has given Rise to the present Troubles in Europe; and now when the particular Instructions, relating to that particular Affair, which were sent to our Minister at that Court, only for one Year, and that too, several Years ago, are moved for, still we are told by the same Gentlemen, 'You are not particular enough, your Demands are unreasonable; ask but what is reasonable, and we will give it you, provided the Majority agree to it:'. At this Rate it is impossible for Gentlemen, who are intirely ignorant of our late foreign Transactions, to ask for any Thing; for it is not to be presum'd, that any Man can ask for any particular Paper, from which this House could get a proper Information, even as to any particular Transaction, unless he knew very exactly the whole Series of that Transaction, and all the other Transactions relating to it.

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'The honourable Gentleman by me, has been pleas'd to declare his Willingness to enter into the most strict Inquiry; and for that Purpose has promis'd a great deal of Condescension, as to the laying before the House whatever Papers might be thought necessary for their Information; but what has all this come to? Why, he and the Majority have condescended to give us a Treaty, which has long ago been in Print, and publish'd in, I believe, most of the Countries of Europe. I must say, Sir, that such Treatment is intolerable; I do not know what Name to give it; but I shall avoid giving Names: I would not willingly sling the first Stone; but if any Stone be slung at me, I shall always be ready to sling it back again.'

Mr Horatio Walpole spoke next,

Mr H. Walpole.

Sir,

'The honourable Gentlemen who spoke last, ended his Speech with saying, that he would not willingly sling the first Stone; but it seems he had then forgot what he had said but a very little before; by which, if he did not sling a Stone, he at least, in my Opinion, threw a very great Peeble at the whole House: After having told us, that it was not allowable to say any Thing against what was done by the Majority of this House, he said, 'That there were, notwithstanding, some Methods of Speaking, which were not against Order, and by which Gentlemen might be made to feel, that an Answer might be given to what the Majority had thought unanswerable;'. Then he talk'd of scandalous Things having been done in former Parliaments by a

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II. corrupt Majority : Now, Sir, I would be glad to know how this House can feel any Thing that is said of former Parliaments, unless it be meant, that the present Parliament is of the same Nature with the former Parliaments talk'd of : This, Sir, as I have said, seems to be a very great Peeble thrown at the whole House ; besides the Dirt he had before flung at the supposed Author of a Pamphlet lately published, whom he took care to describe so particularly, that, I believe, every Gentleman thinks the Author, or at least the supposed Author of that Pamphlet, is now speaking to you ; but I can freely declare, that I am not the Author of it ; I have, indeed, read it ; and I believe the greatest Quarrel that Gentleman and his Friends have with it, is, that they do not know how to answer it.

The honourable Gentleman likewise mentioned the Case of a Patient and his Physician ; but I leave the World to judge, who most deserve the Appellation of Quacks, they who have the proper Degrees, and practise in a regular Manner ; or that Gentleman's Friends, who have been for some Years past dispersing their Quack Bills round the Country, exclaiming against all those in the regular Practice, and endeavouring to persuade People in good Health that they are in a dangerous Condition ; and that if they do not immediately discharge all their regular Physicians, and swallow their Quack Powders, they must inevitably perish.

But, Sir, to be serious, as the Gentleman said, upon this Subject, though I cannot think that the Subject now before us is so serious as he would represent, if those Gentlemen would fairly and openly enter into the Consideration of the State of the Nation, I will defy that Gentleman, or any other Gentlemen to shew, that those in the Administration have acted any Part, or entered into any Measures, but what were, at the Time they were transacted, the most consistent with the Interest of Great Britain of any that could then be thought of, or entered into. Gentlemen may give to the present Administration the Name of a shifting Administration ; Gentlemen may say that they have wheeled about from Court to Court ; but upon Inquiry, it will appear, that they have never shifted or wheeled, but when the Interest of their Country required it ; and that if there has been any shifting or wheeling, it was always owing to a Change of the Measures at other Courts : As long as any Power in Friendship or Alliance with us, continued to act agreeably to the Interest of Great Britain, so long we continued firm to them ; but when any of them began to enter into Measures which were directly opposite to our Interest, we then likewise changed our Measures, and had Recourse to other Powers, who, from that Moment, became our more
natural

natural Allies : This, Sir, has been the Method always observed by those in the Administration ; but I know who they are who have shifted and wheeled with quite another View than that of the Interest of Great Britain ; when we were in Friendship with France, they were caballing with the Ministers and Agents of the Emperor ; when the Face of Affairs changed, and our Friendship with the Emperor was restored, they then caballed with the Ministers and Agents of France ; and thus they have been always in the greatest Friendship with those who have been most at Enmity with their native Country.

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‘ In short, Sir, I find, that those Gentlemen who call themselves Patriots, have laid this down as a fix’d Principle, that they must always oppose those Measures which are resolved on by the King’s Ministers, and consequently must always endeavour to shew that those Measures are wrong ; and this, Sir, I take to be the only Reason why they have been as yet so silent as to a certain Subject, in which the Interest of their Country is very much concerned : Their Language at present is, as I suppose, ‘ Do not let us declare our Opinion ; let us wait ’till we know what Part the Ministry takes, and then let us endeavour to shew that they ought to have acted quite otherwise :’ If I may be allowed to use a low Simile, they treat the Ministry in the same Way as I am treated by some Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, with respect to my Dress ; if I am in plain Cloaths, then they say, I am a slovenly, dirty Fellow ; and if by Chance I have a Suit of Cloaths with some Lace upon them, they cry, what, shall such an awkward Fellow wear fine Cloaths ? So that no Dress I can appear in can possibly please them. But to conclude, Sir, the Case of the Nation under the present Administration has been the same with what it always has been, and always must be ; for to use another Simile, which my worthy Friend over the Way, whom I have in my Eye, will understand : As long as the Wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our designed Port, the Word was *Steady — Steady* ; but when the Wind began to shift and change, the Word came then necessarily to be, *Thus — Thus, and no near.*

Sir William Wyndham stood up next : Hereupon the Speaker rose up, and said, that Gentlemen had departed so much from the Point in Debate, that he would beg Leave to read the Question again. This done, Sir William Wyndham proceeded as follows.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Sir,
‘ I shall take Care in what I have to offer, to confine myself as strictly to the Question as possible, though I must say, that those Gentlemen who have spoke against it, have

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made such long Digressions, and have traversed so many Parts of Europe, that it is a difficult Matter to say any Thing in Answer to what they have been pleased to advance, and at the same Time to keep close to the Question. As to the Digressions which the Gentlemen have run into, I shall not give the House much Trouble about them; and as to Arguments, the only two that I have heard made use of, or so much as hinted at, against the Question, are, that the agreeing to the Motion now made to us would be shewing a Disrespect to his Majesty; and, that if it should be agreed to, it could be of no Service, as to the giving us any Information about our present Circumstances.

* It is said, Sir, that the agreeing to this Motion would be shewing a Disrespect to his Majesty, because it would be shewing a Sort of Suspicion, that his Majesty has had a Share in those Transactions which have given Occasion to the present War; though he has, in his Speech from the Throne, declared, that he has had no Share in them. The Answer to this Objection is plain; we all know, it has always been allowed in this House, that Speeches from the Throne are the Speeches of the Minister, and upon that Supposition it has always been thought, that neither this House, nor any Member of this House is guilty of any Disrespect to his Majesty, in examining and canvassing with all possible Freedom every Sentence of the Speech from the Throne; even the Facts there asserted may be deny'd, and if upon Examination it should be found, that they are false, the Minister ought and certainly would answer severely for it. This is the very Case now before us: It is allowed on all Hands, that the Election of a King of Poland is the principal Cause of the War now broke out in Europe; and to tell us, that his Majesty has said, that he has had no Share in that Transaction, and that therefore we must not inquire into it, is a direct begging of the Question: The Ministers are the only Persons we can suppose to have said so, and there are other Gentlemen who affirm, or, at least, suspect the contrary: This is a Fact then that is controverted; this is the Fact which the House is to inquire into; and when a Motion is made for having those Papers laid before us, which are necessary for giving us some Lights into this Affair, shall Gentlemen be told, that such a Motion is improper, because it is inconsistent with that Respect which we have professed for his Majesty, in our Address of Thanks? If this House can be persuaded to accept of such an Excuse, if a Majority of this House can be prevailed on to join in such a Method of Proceeding, those Gentlemen who can so prevail upon them, may throw out as many Defiances as they please: They are the sole Masters of all the

the Proofs that are necessary for, or can be made use of upon any Inquiry; and they are, it seems, resolved to continue so.

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* Whether this House, Sir, can have any proper Information from the Instructions now called for, as to the Fact in Dispute at present, is what I shall not take upon me to determine; nor can it be, in my Opinion, determined by any Gentleman in this House; but to me it seems very probable, that we may from these Instructions receive some Lights, which may enable us to determine how this Nation stands engaged, with respect to the War now carrying on in Europe, since the principal Reason of that War is allowed to be founded upon the late Election of a King of Poland. Gentlemen may, if they please, pretend Ignorance, but it is very certain, that the late King of Poland was in the Year 1729 in a very bad Condition, with respect to his Health, and therefore it seems certain, that some Measures must have been concerted, relating to the then future Election of a King of Poland; whether we had any, and what Share in those Measures, is what this House now wants to inquire into, and to me it seems as evident as any Demonstration whatever, that the seeing of those Instructions is absolutely necessary for this End. 'Tis true, the King of Poland did recover a little, and did live for a few Years after, but he never was after that in a State of perfect Health, and, consequently, it is most reasonable to believe, that the Measures then concerted were the same with, or, at least, did very much influence the Measures actually pursued upon the Demise of that King: If we had no Share in the Transactions at that Time carried on in Poland, surely no Secret can be discovered by the laying of those Instructions before this House; and if we had any Share in those Transactions, it cannot be said, I think, that we have no manner of Share in those Transactions which have occasioned the present War in Europe.

* What Share we had in those Transactions, 'till I see those Instructions, it is impossible for me to say; but from the Lights I already have, it appears evident to me, that we have had a very large Share in all the other Negotiations, which have been lately carried on in Europe. Did not we procure the Introduction of the first Spanish Forces into Italy? Are not we Guarantees for all Don Carlos's Rights and Possessions in Italy? Are not we Guarantees for all the Emperor's Rights and Possessions in Italy? Are not we Guarantees even for the Pragmatick Sanction in its full Extent? I believe we are under Engagements to every one of the Northern Powers; and I have heard, that we are under some Engagements to the Court of France; so that

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let a War have broke out between any two Powers in Europe, it will be difficult to shew, that we had no Hand in the Transactions which gave Occasion to that War; upon the contrary, I believe it will appear, that each of them might have justly made Demands upon us; and this, Sir, is our present unhappy Situation: If this shews great Wisdom, or regular Practice, as the Gentleman was pleased to call it, in those at the Helm of our Affairs, I leave to the World to judge: We have been running all over Europe, and entering into Engagements with every Prince and State in Europe, and all this without any national Benefit in View, but generally to the great Detriment of our Domestic Affairs, and often to the great Interruption of our Trade in all Parts of the World; and how probable it may be, that the same Wisdom, which has brought us into this Situation, will be able to extricate us out of it, is a Question which may be easily resolved.

‘ We were told, Sir, the first Day of the Session, that we were to concert Measures, and to act in Conjunction with Powers who are under the same Engagements with us, and have not taken Part in the present War, more particularly the States General: But I would gladly know, if we have hitherto taken any one Step in Conjunction with them? Is it not well known that in most Cases we have lately made the first Step by ourselves, and then have, with great Difficulty and Expence, prevailed on them to follow us, which they never did, but upon their own Terms, and under very great Restrictions and Reservations: They have now indeed done something for their own Security, but what they have done was, I believe, done without any Thing of our Participation; they did not so much, I believe, as consult with us upon that Head, which really looks as if they had some Distrust of our Power, or as if they thought they could not put any Confidence in the Counsels of this Nation; and if our most natural Allies should once begin to harbour such an Opinion of us, we may then conclude, that there is no Dependence to be had upon their Friendship or Alliance.

‘ In short, Sir, if his Majesty expects our Advice upon the present State of the Affairs of Europe; if his Majesty expects the Assistance of Parliament in the present Exigency of Affairs, we must be informed how our Affairs stand, before we can in a proper parliamentary Way give either our Advice or Assistance: It was with this View, and with this View only, that some Papers have been already called for, which have indeed been refused by a Majority; it is with this View only, that the Papers mentioned in the Motion now before us are asked for, and if they likewise be refused by a Majority, we may, perhaps, give his Majesty such

such Assistance as his Ministers shall please to ask ; but I am sure we can give no Advice, nor can we give a Reason for what we do.

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Sir Robert Walpole spoke next,

Sir R. Walpole,

Sir,

I will agree with the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, that the present Posture of Affairs does require, and his Majesty expects the Assistance of Parliament ; but I will say, that the present Motion, and some such lately made, had the House agreed to them, would have tended to increase the present Troubles and Confusions Abroad, rather than to have given any real Assistance either to ourselves or others. I believe, Sir, there is not a Court in Europe, whether engaged in the present War, or otherwise, but expected to have known by the 17th of this Month, what Part Great Britain was to have taken in the present War ; as yet it remains unresolv'd, or, at least, a Secret, and it is the Interest of Great Britain it should continue so ; but some Gentlemen seem inclined not only to precipitate their Country into a Resolution, but to publish that Resolution, as soon as taken, to the whole World ; and which Side deserves most the Thanks of their Country, those who are for our coming to no Resolution 'till we have fully examined the Circumstances of Affairs, and even then concealing our Resolutions till we are just ready to carry them into Execution ; or those who are for our coming to a hasty Resolution, and immediately publishing it to the World that our Enemies may have Time to provide against it, I leave to the World to judge.

Whatever other Gentlemen may think, it is my Opinion, that our Situation is much better than can well be expected ; and whenever that Matter shall come to be examin'd into, I believe it will appear, that our present Situation is the very best the Nation could possibly be in, with relation to the present Posture of Affairs in Europe. The Gentleman who spoke last, was pleas'd to mention the States of Holland, and that they had done something for their own Security ; 'tis true, they have done something, they have enter'd into a Treaty of Neutrality ; whereas we have remain'd entirely in a State of Inaction ; but upon this very Account, I think, we are in a much better Condition than they are, for by that Neutrality they have engaged not to act at all, nor to concern themselves in the present War ; we are still at Liberty, and may, upon any Event, take that Part which shall then appear to be most for the Interest of Great Britain : In this then our Case is better than theirs, because they are engaged by an express Stipulation not to concern themselves in the present War, whereas we are un-

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der no Engagement, but that natural Obligation which lies upon every Country not to concern themselves in any War, unless they find it for their Interest so to do.

‘ I do not believe, Sir, that the States General, or any other foreign Power has less Trust in the Strength, or less Confidence in the Counsels of this Nation than they formerly had ; but if it were so, I should not wonder at it, when every Post tells them, that we are a divided Nation, and that there is no Dependence to be had upon our present Counsels, because great Alterations are soon to happen, which must necessarily produce a thorough Change in all our public Measures ; and upon this Consideration I leave it to every impartial Man to judge, if we are in any unhappy Situation, who have contributed most to it, those who have honestly and faithfully served the Crown, or those who have made it their Business for some Years, to do all that was in their Power to distress every Measure of his Majesty’s Government ; and that too in Conjunction with a Person who I believe will never be trusted by any Court in Europe.

‘ His Majesty, in his Speech from the Throne, has told us, that he is not any Way engaged in the present War, and that he will take Time to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, before he comes to any Determination ; when he has done so, it is not to be doubted, but that he will lay all the Informations he can get before his Parliament, and will take the Advice of Parliament, what Part the Nation ought to take in the then Conjunction ; why then should we endeavour to anticipate his Majesty’s wise Designs ? Why should we run headlong and plunge the Nation into a War, by joining either one Side or other, before his Majesty has had any Time to examine into the Posture of Affairs abroad ? This seems, indeed, to be the View of some Gentlemen ; but surely such a rash Proceeding would rather increase than diminish the Unhappiness of our present Situation ; and is very far from that Coolness and Temper which ought to be shewn, when the very Safety of our Country depends upon the Prudence and Unanimity of our Resolutions.

‘ An honourable Gentleman, Sir, who spoke some time ago, took indeed a great deal of Liberty in talking of Majorities of Parliament ; but I would have Gentlemen to know, that when they talk of such Majorities at present, they speak of their Equals as Members of this House, of their Equals on any Ground in England ; let Gentlemen but cast their Eyes round the House, and they will find a Number of Gentlemen superior to the highest Number of their Minority, who can as little be suspected of Corruption, as any of those who generally appear upon the Minority Side of the Question.

' It is, Sir, an easy Matter for Gentlemen to represent the Measures, lately taken by the Government, as unwise, inconsistent, and the like, or to give them what other Epithets they have a mind, but when the Day comes for inquiring into them, which I as heartily wish for as any Gentleman in this House, I believe those Measures will appear in a quite different Light; and those Gentlemen, who may perhaps have hearkned to every little Whisper of some of the foreign Ministers at this Court, which is, I believe, the only Foundation they have for what they have asserted, will find themselves at last disappointed. Whenever such an Inquiry shall be resolved on, I make no Doubt, but that the Majority of this House will agree to call for every Paper, that can be thought necessary for giving the House a full Information of the present State of the Nation: But this is not the Question at present, nor are we now to inquire whether his Majesty has had a Share in those Transactions, which have given Occasion to the present War in Europe; and therefore I cannot think we have, at present, any thing to do with any Instructions given to his Majesty's Ministers in Poland or elsewhere.

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' His Majesty, 'tis true, Sir, expects the Assistance of his Parliament, but for what? He does not immediately expect such an Assistance as to enable him to take any Part in the present War; he wants only such an Assistance as may enable him to put the Nation in a proper Posture of Defence; and surely we may determine what Assistance will be necessary for that End, without inquiring into any of our foreign Negotiations. It is for this Reason, Sir, that I think the House has done right, in rejecting all the Motions hitherto made for Letters and Instructions relating to our foreign Affairs, and, for the same Reason I make no doubt, but that they will likewise reject the present Motion.'

The Question being then put upon Mr Sandys's Motion, it was carried in the Negative by 202 against 114.

Then Mr Edmund Waller, Member for Great Marlow, rose up and moved, That an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to communicate to the House, how far he had been engaged, by his good Offices, in those Transactions, which had been declar'd to be the principal Causes and Motives of the War, which was then begun and carried on against the Emperor, with so much Vigour, by the united Powers of France, Spain, and Sardinia. This Motion was seconded, but, being opposed by the Courtiers, it was carried in the Negative, without a Division.

Mr Waller's Motion for an Address to know, how far the King was engaged, by his good Offices, in the Causes of the War against the Emperor.

Then Mr Sandys stood up again, and said, ' That though the Motion he had just before made had been rejected, yet, as
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Mr Sandys's Motion for an Account of what Application had been made to his Majesty, by the Parties engaged in the War.

Debate thereon.

Sir J. Rushout.

he never proposed any Thing in that House, but what he thought just and reasonable, he was not therefore apt to be discourag'd; and for that Reason he would beg Leave to make another Motion, which he hoped would meet with better Success, which was, That an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to communicate to the House, what Application had been made to him by the several Parties then engaged in the War, founded upon Treaties or other Engagements.

This Motion being seconded by Sir John Rushout, the same was oppos'd by Mr Henry Pelham, who spoke as follows.

Sir,

Mr H. Pelham.

'It is very true, that the honourable Gentleman, who made you this Motion, is not very apt to be discouraged, but however he may flatter himself with Success in his present Motion, it is, in my Opinion, so much of a Kin to his former Motion, which the House has already rejected, that I can see no Reason he has to expect, that the present should have a different Fate.' His Majesty has already told us, that he was no way engaged in the present War, nor had had any Share in those Transactions which gave Rise to it; and therefore 'tis not to be presumed, that any Power engag'd has made any Application to him founded upon Treaties or other Engagements. Some of them might perhaps have made an Application to his Majesty for his Assistance; but even such Application was not to be presumed, because, had any such Application been made, it was not to be doubted, but that his Majesty, in his Speech from the Throne, would have taken some Notice of it. As this Question, Sir, is of the same Nature with the former Question moved by that Gentleman, and founded upon the same Jealousy of his Majesty's Conduct, it is impossible for me to have any thing new to urge against it; but I believe it is as impossible for any Gentleman in this House to say any thing new in Favour of it; and therefore I shall give the House no farther trouble, only to declare, that I shall give my Negative to it, as well as I did to the former.'

Then Mr Pulteney spoke in Favour of the Motion.

Sir,

Mr Pulteney.

'In whatever Light the honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, may take the present Motion, I think it must bear a very different Consideration from the Motion formerly made by my worthy Friend. I believe it will not be denied, but that we are under some Engagements to every one, or, at least, to most of the Powers concern'd in the present War; and whatever we may at present pretend to think of those

those Engagements, it is very probable, that those to whom we are engaged think otherwise : It is not to be doubted, but that some of them think that we are, by the Engagements we have entered into, obliged to assist them, upon the present Emergency ; and it is pretty well known, that they have made Application for an immediate Performance of those Engagements. I have heard, that ten thousand Land-Forces, or some such Number, has been actually demanded by one of the Powers engaged in the War ; I will not, indeed, affirm the Truth of it, though I have something more than the Whisper of a foreign Minister to confirm what I say.

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* It is well known, Sir, that in most of the Engagements we have entered into with foreign Powers, it is left to the Choice of the Power we are engaged with, to demand a Quota in a Squadron of Ships, a certain Sum of Money, or a certain Number of Troops ; and as we are to go into a Committee upon the Supply on Monday next, there is nothing more reasonable, than that the House should be informed of what Demands have been made upon us, and whether those Demands have been for Ships, Money, or Men, before we go into that Committee ; for, without such Information, it will be impossible for us to know how to come to such Resolutions, as may be most for the Safety and Honour of the Nation. The Motion is therefore so far from being unreasonable, that it is necessary it should be complied with ; and if it is not, I cannot really see how we can properly go into the Committee upon the Supply on Monday next.

To this Sir William Yonge replied :

Sir W. Yonge.

Sir,

* I can see no Reason, why the House may not be fully prepared for going into the Committee of Supply on Monday next, though this Motion should be rejected as the others have been ; and therefore I do not think it necessary to enter into the Debate at present, whether the Motion be reasonable or no ; there may be another Time for that Question, for which Reason I shall now only move for the previous Question.

Hereupon Mr Pulteney stood up again, and said :

Mr Pulteney.

Sir,

* I find the Gentleman, who spoke last, has avoided entering upon the Merits of the Question, and, by a Sort of parliamentary Trick, by moving for the previous Question, he intends, it seems, to put off the Question for this Day, at least ; this, in my Opinion, is treating the Question with much greater Indecency than if it were to be fairly argu'd, and afterwards rejected ; for if the Question be delay'd 'till

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after Monday next, it will then be too late to enter upon the Consideration of it; it will really be in Effect, first to resolve, and then to enter into the Consideration of what ought to be resolved; and therefore I must desire, that the Question may be fairly debated, that Gentlemen would, at least, give us a Reason for what they are to do, and then let the Motion stand or fall upon its own Merits.

Sir W. Yonge.

To this Sir William Yonge answer'd as follows :

Sir,

‘ I did not intend any Trick when I moved for the previous Question; it is what has been always practised in this House, when any Question has been moved, which Gentlemen have a Mind to favour so much as not to put a Negative upon it: But even as to the Merits of the Question, it cannot, certainly, have any Relation to any Resolutions we can possibly come to on Monday next in the Committee of Supply; for all the Resolutions we come to in that Committee, are founded upon Estimates given in, or Demands made by the Crown; and if any Demand were to be made upon this House, to enable his Majesty to send a Quota either of Ships of War, Money, or Troops, to any Power in Europe, such Demand would certainly be laid before this House by his Majesty's Orders, without putting us to the Trouble of presenting any such Address as is now moved for; there is therefore no Necessity for entering this Day upon the Merits of this Question; the Gentleman may renew his Motion when he thinks proper, and then I do not doubt but other Gentlemen will debate the Reasonableness of it; and as it appears to the House, it will certainly be agreed to or rejected; but as I do not think this a proper Time for debating it, I must insist upon my Motion.’

Mr W. Plumer.

Then Mr Walter Plumer said,

Sir,

‘ As we shall probably come on Monday next to some Resolutions with respect to our Seamen, I should think it necessary for this House to know what Demands have been made upon us by our Allies, before we come to any Resolution on that Head; otherwise we may leave Room for those extraordinary Messages and Demands towards the End of the Session, which this Nation has of late been too much accustomed to. The Gentleman who moved the previous Question, says, ‘ That this is not a proper Time for entering upon the Merits of the Motion now made to us, because, ‘ if any such Application had been made by any of our ‘ Allies, and his Majesty had resolved to grant what was ‘ asked, he would have ordered this to be laid before us, ‘ together with the Estimates and Demands of the current ‘ Service of the ensuing Year.’ Is not this directly to tell

us, that after his Majesty has come to a Determination what Part to act, he will be graciously pleased to take the Advice of Parliament. It is true, his Majesty has by his Prerogative the Power of making Peace or War: But in a Matter of so great Consequence, it has always appeared to be the Interest, nay, I may say, it has always been thought to be the Duty of the Kings of England, to take the Advice of their People in Parliament assembled, and not to trust entirely to the Advice of their Ministers; and if any such Demand, as is mention'd in the Motion now before us, has been made by any of his Majesty's Allies, I cannot think that it would be any Way derogatory to the Prerogative of the Crown, or to the Wisdom of the Ministers, to lay it before the Parliament, whether it ought to be comply'd with or not.'

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Mr Cockburn, Knight of the Shire for Haddington, spoke next.

Mr Cockburn.

Sir,

'I was against the first Motion, because some Gentlemen had assured the House, and I was myself a little afraid, that at present it might tend to increase the Confusions and Troubles that are now in Europe; but the present Motion I take to be of a very different Nature; I am sure that, should it be comply'd with, no Secrets can thereby be discovered, nor can it possibly tend to increase the present Troubles of Europe.

'I am old enough to remember the Beginning of the first great War against France, and I remember, that as soon as the Dutch applied to us for our Assistance, King William immediately laid the Case before the Parliament, and took their Advice, as to what was proper to be done upon that Emergency, before he came to any Resolution: Upon the breaking out of the second War, the late Queen did the same; and I must say, that I think every King of this Nation ought to follow that Example; if they expect the Assistance of Parliament, they ought to take the Advice of Parliament; and our Histories will inform us, that where they have done so, they have generally done well, and where they have done otherwise, they have had but little Success; for which Reason I am for agreeing with the Motion now made to us.'

The Previous Question being then put upon Mr Sandys's Motion, it was carried in the Negative, without a Division.

February 4. A Petition of the Druggists, and others dealing in Tea, was presented to the House, and read; alleging, that by an Act passed in the 10th Year of King George I. the Petitioners were induced to hope, that the Duty arising from Tea would be better secured to his Majesty,

Sir J. Barnard presents a Petition from the Dealers in Tea, for Relief against the Excise Laws.

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fly, and the Interest of the fair Trader be better supported, but have fatally experienced the contrary Effects; the clandestine Importation of Tea being greatly increased, to the Damage of the publick Revenue, and Ruin of the fair Trader, occasioned by the great Difference of the Value of that Commodity at this and foreign Markets, whereby the Smugglers are enabled to purchase it Abroad for less than half the Duty paid here: That the Regulations which the Petitioners are laid under, are most burthenfome and grievous, their Houses being liable to be entered by Persons unknown to them, and their Properties subjected to the judicial Determination of Commissioners: That the Petitioners are liable to severe Penalties for Errors and Omissions absolutely unavoidable, and restrained from disposing of their Goods, after having paid Duty for the same, without Permits from the Officer of the Inland Duties, expressing the Names and Places of Abode of the respective Buyers and Sellers, exposing thereby the Extent and Circumstances of their Trade; whereby the Petitioners conceived they were in a worse Condition than any other of his Majesty's Subjects, and therefore praying the House to take the Premises into Consideration, and give them such Relief as to the House should seem meet.' This Petition was presented by

Sir John Barnard's
Speech in behalf
of the said Petition.

Sir John Barnard, who spoke in Favour of the same as follows:

Mr Speaker,

' As this Petition is the same with that presented to this House last Session, I need not take up much of your Time in opening it to the House. The Petitioners apprehend they labour under very great Grievances, by their being subject to the Laws of Excise; and as this House, in the very last Session of Parliament, thought it unreasonable to subject some other Sorts of Traders and Dealers to those oppressive Laws, the Petitioners think they have Reason from thence to conclude, that this House will be ready to relieve them from those Burdens.

' The chief Objection made to the Petition last Year was, that it was signed only by a few, and those not the most considerable Dealers in that Commodity, but now this Objection is intirely removed; for I am sure there is not a considerable Dealer within the City of London, who has not signed this Petition. The great Frauds committed in the running of Tea, which are daily increasing, are now become a very great and a general Grievance, not only with respect to the Publick, but to the fair Trader: It is impossible for a Man, who honestly pays the heavy Duties upon the Commodity he deals in, to sell so cheap as the Smuggler may do, therefore, if some Stop is not speedily put to that infamous

infamous Practice, we may expect in a few Years the whole Trade of the Kingdom, so far as relates to our Home-Consumption, will be got into the Hands of Smugglers only, and the Retailers who buy from them. It was expected that the Alteration, made some Years ago in the Method of collecting those Duties, would have prevented this infamous Practice: When that Project was first set on foot, I remember, some People assured us, it would entirely put an End to Smuggling; but Experience has taught us the contrary; for since that Alteration it has been much more general than before; so that we have subjected a great Number of our Fellow-Subjects to infinite Hardships, without gaining thereby any Benefit to the Publick.

As this Practice of Smuggling, which has of late so much increased, must be likewise a considerable Detriment to the publick Revenue, the Petitioners hope we shall take the Affair again under our Consideration, and endeavour to contrive some Methods for preventing this infamous Practice for the future: If then the Relief of a great Number of our Fellow-Subjects from Grievances they justly complain of, if the Encouragement of the fair Trader, if the Increasing of the publick Revenue, are Considerations which ought to weigh with a British Parliament, I am sure the Case now before us, in which all three are joined, deserves the utmost Regard of this House; therefore I cannot doubt of the Petition's being referred to a Committee. And when we go into that Committee, several Gentlemen will offer their Opinions, and propose Expedients for the Relief of the Petitioners, as well as for the Advantage of the Revenue: But as these Things can't properly come now under our Consideration, I shall not give the House any farther Trouble at present, but only to move, That the Petition may be referred to the Consideration of a Committee of the whole House.

The above Motion being seconded by Mr Perry, Mr Winnington stood up and spoke as follows:

Sir,

I can by no Means agree with the two honourable Gentlemen in the Motion they have made. The Relieving any of our Fellow-Subjects from Grievances they justly complain of, the Encouraging of the fair Trader, and the Increasing the publick Revenue, are Matters indeed of a very great Concern, and always deserve the utmost Attention of this House, when they are regularly and properly brought before us; but I cannot think that this Petition can properly bring either of them before us, nor can I think it is now a proper Time to go into a Committee upon this or any such Petition. There is nothing that can be proposed in consequence.

Debate thereon.

Mr Perry.
Mr Winnington.

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quence of this Petition, but what may diminish the publick Revenue, and as we are in a manner now just upon the Brink of a War, I think it would be very unwise in us to do any thing that may possibly diminish that Revenue, for which we may soon have so great an Occasion.

‘As to the infamous Practice of Smuggling, and the Frauds committed in that Branch of the publick Revenue, which the Petition relates to, I believe, every Gentleman would willingly do something to prevent it, if possible; but the Method, proposed by this Petition, appears really to me in a very strange Light: It has been found, they say, that the Laws of Excise joined with the Laws of the Customs, have not been effectual for preventing all those Frauds; and therefore Gentlemen propose, that we should take off one of these Checks, and indeed, that which must be acknowledged to be the most effectual of the two, in order to prevent Running for the future. I need not say any thing to convince Gentlemen, that this Proposition cannot be supposed to tend to the Encouragement of the fair Trader, or to increase the publick Revenue: As to the Petitioners, if they are all fair Traders, they must acknowledge, it would be so far from giving them Relief, that it would entirely ruin them.

‘I should be glad to hear any Thing proposed for the Benefit of the fair Trader, or Security of the publick Revenue: But for us to go into a Committee upon that Subject, when no Gentleman of this House can say that there is any particular Method or Scheme to be proposed, would be taking up the Time of the House to no Purpose. Besides, if there were really any Schemes to be proposed to us for putting an End to Frauds and Smuggling, it is not now a proper Time for us to enter into the Consideration of them; for as it is now the last Session of a Parliament, and considering the present Posture of Affairs of Europe, it must be presumed that the short Time we have to sit will be taken up in Matters of very great Weight, and which require a more immediate Consideration, there cannot be any great Inconvenience in putting off this Affair to another Session; and therefore I must be against the Motion now made, and shall move, That the Petition may be ordered to lie upon the Table.’

Mr Perry,

To this Mr Perry reply’d,

Sir,

‘When this Motion was made by my honourable and worthy Friend, I did not apprehend it would have met with any Opposition; therefore I gave the House no other Trouble than just to second the Motion: But now I hope I shall be indulged a few Words in Support of it. It has
always

always been my Opinion, that while we sit here, no Time can be improper for our taking into our Consideration a Petition signed by such a Number of considerable Traders: The Hearing of Complaints from the Subjects, and the Redressing of their Grievances, I have always understood to be a chief Part of the Business of Parliament; and I am sorry to hear it said in this House, that any Time is improper for such a Consideration, especially when it is not so much as pretended, that the Complaints are frivolous, or that the Petitioners are inconsiderable.

The honourable Gentleman spoke of our being on the Brink of a War, and therefore thought it unwise for us to attempt to do any Thing that might lessen the publick Revenue: I believe no Gentleman in this House means to lessen the publick Revenue; the very End of the Motion now made is to endeavour something that may increase the publick Revenue, by preventing those Frauds by which it is greatly diminished. The Gentleman allows, that the Laws of Excise and Customs, when joined together, are ineffectual for preventing the running of Tea; but thinks it strange, that the taking off one of those Checks should be proposed as a Method for the preventing of running for the future, and it would be so if this were the only Method; but there may be some Method proposed, if we go into a Committee upon this Affair, which will render the Laws of the Customs singly more effectual against Smuggling than both the Laws of Excise and Customs have been: In such Case it will not appear strange to give a Relief to many of our distressed Countrymen, by freeing them from the oppressive Laws of Excise.

If Gentlemen will examine this Affair a little, they will find, that by adding the Laws of Excise to the Laws of the Customs, they have neither given a Check to Smuggling, nor increased the publick Revenue, in Proportion as the Consumption of that Commodity has increased of late Years within this Kingdom. In 1716, the Duty upon Coffee and Tea amounted to but sixty odd thousand Pounds; From 1716 to 1724 that Duty continued subject only to the Laws of the Customs, and yet so greatly did our Consumption increase within that Time, that in the Year 1723 the Duty amounted to 112,000 l. near double the Sum in that seven Years which preceded the Alteration. This can be attributed only to the Increase of the Consumption, for it cannot be said, that the Custom-House Officers were more exact and diligent, or the Smugglers less skilled in the Arts of Deceit in that Year, than they had been in any of the former.

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' In 1724, the famous Alteration now complained of was made : We cannot suppose the Consumption has since decreased ; on the contrary, as Tea has been sold cheaper than ever it was before, we must suppose that the Consumption has greatly increased ; and as by this Alteration the unfair Traders were entirely put out of all their old Arts of Smuggling, or at least of disposing of their run Goods, we must suppose the Duty increased, and accordingly it did so till the Year 1729 ; when it amounted to about 162,000 l. But by that Time the Smugglers began to learn new Arts of Deceit, and to contrive new Ways of defrauding the Publick ; so that since the Year 1729, the Duty has been decreasing, and is now reduced to less than 120,000 l. *per Annum*. From hence it must appear, that the Publick has not gained much by the Alteration of the Method of Collection, which lies so heavy on all the Dealers in that Commodity.

' It is certain, that this Decrease in the publick Revenue since the Year 1729, cannot be owing to any Decrease in the Consumption of that Commodity ; for it is of late Years sold so cheap, that the very meanest of the People make use of it. A poor Woman of my Neighbourhood, for whom I had some Time before procured twelve-pence *per Week* Charity, acknowledged to me, that she had Tea every Morning for her Breakfast, and said that, except Water, it was the cheapest Drink she could get ; and therefore, as the Consumption must be much larger, and the Produce of the Duty very little superior now to what it was in the Year 1723, we must conclude, the Alteration now complained of has rather increased than diminished Smuggling.

' The honourable Gentleman should not have said it was proposed to lessen the publick Revenue, or to take off any of those Checks which have been laid upon Smuggling ; there has not been any Thing proposed, nor is it proper there should, until we go into the Committee moved for, which I have Reason to believe the House will agree to, because I have not yet heard any one Argument offer'd against it, but only of its not being now a proper Time. This indeed has been almost the only Argument made use of against most Things that have been proposed this Session, and I really believe we are to hear no other from that Quarter ; but I must think, that it is a very unfair Way of treating any Proposition ; and however such Arguments may prevail in this House, I am sure they will give but very little Satisfaction without Doors.'

Mr Perry was opposed by Sir William Yonge.

Sir W. Yonge.

Sir,

' Notwithstanding what the honourable Gentleman who made

made the Motion, and the honourable Gentleman who spoke last have urged in Support of their Motion, I must agree with my honourable Friend on the Floor, that the present is not at all a proper Time, nor indeed are we any Way prepared for going into a Committee upon the Petition before us. I am surpriz'd to hear it pretended that no Argument has been offered against the Motion, but that of its not being a proper Time; have not Gentlemen been told, is it not well known that this is the last Session of a Parliament, which must always be pretty much hurried? And therefore it is not proper to bring before us an Affair of such a complicated Nature, and which will require so much Time to search thoroughly to the Bottom of the Wound, before we can so much as pretend to apply, or even to find out a proper Remedy.

* Does not every Man know, that the present Posture of Affairs in Europe may probably bring Matters of much greater Importance before us, Matters of the highest Consequence to the whole Nation? Shall we then take up the short Time we have to sit, in the Examination of Affairs relating to one small Branch of the Revenue, the delaying of which until another Session, can be of no signal Disadvantage to the Nation in general, or even to any private Man? We ought to be the more cautious of entering into the Examination of this Petition, because it may bring before us a great many such: Several Sorts of other Commodities are subject to the Laws of Excise; if we once enter upon giving Relief to the Petitioners, we may expect Petitions from the Dealers in all those other Commodities.

* The Gentleman who spoke last has, I find, been at the Pains to consider the Amount of the Duty upon Tea, for seven Years before and seven Years after the Alteration in the Method of collecting it; and I agree with him, that in this last Year the Produce amounted to no more than 120,000*l*. But I must take Notice, that his Method of comparing the one with the other is neither fair nor just: He has, out of the Time before that Alteration was made, picked out the Year, when the Produce of that Duty amounted to the highest Sum that it ever did before the Alteration was made; and out of that Time since the Alteration was made, he has picked out that Year, when the Produce of that Duty was the lowest that it has been in any Year since.

* I appeal to every Gentleman that hears me, if the fair Way of stating this Matter is not, to compute the Amount of the Duty for seven Years before, in order to fix a Medium for that seven Years; and next to compute the Amount for seven Years after, in order to fix a Medium for that

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Time, and then to compare the Mediums together. According to this Method it will be found, that the publick Revenue has been increased above 34,000*l. per Annum*. Besides this, the Gentleman forgot to mention Seizures, which in this Case ought to be taken Notice of, and added to the yearly Increase; by them it will be found there is an Addition of 20,000*l.* a Year more made to the publick Revenue, which in the whole amounts to 54,000*l.* a Year; an Increase, which I believe no Gentleman in this House will think inconsiderable; nor ought we to go rashly into the changing of that Method, by which this Increase has been made, especially when we are at least in Danger of being upon the Brink of a War, as has been hinted by my honourable Friend.

‘ I allow the Practice of running Tea is a Loss to the Publick, and an Injury to the fair Trader, and is come to a very great Height of late; but the Manner of carrying it on is very different from what it was. The Smugglers now travel 30 or 40 together, well armed and provided for a desperate Defence: they carry their Goods from House to House, and actually murder the King’s Officers: This dangerous Method they have been reduced to by the Laws of Excise, and will any Gentleman desire to have that Check removed, which has laid them under so great Difficulties?’

‘ Gentlemen say, Arguments are not offered against what they propose, or at least only such as are general; but, I think, it has always been the Custom, when any thing new is offered, those who are for it give their Reasons, and if those Reasons cannot be sufficiently answered, the House then agrees with the Motion. Now I wish those Gentlemen would give us some particular Argument in Support of what they propose, agree upon some particular Facts, and then the Gentlemen, who seem to be of a contrary Opinion, would be able to debate the Question fairly with them; but since they have not been able to agree on any Facts, or to give us any particular Reasons for referring this Petition to a Committee, I must conclude that even they themselves are not prepared for taking it into Consideration; therefore I hope it will be ordered to lye on the Table.’

To this Mr Sandys replied:

Sir,

Mr Sandys,

‘ The honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, desired we might agree on particular Facts, and argue from those Facts. This would be a proper and a reasonable Demand, if we were now in a Committee upon the Petition; but as the only Question before us is, whether or no we shall go into a Committee, I cannot think, that it is either proper or reasonable. It is acknowledged, that the Practice of Smuggling

s come to a very great Height, and I believe it will not be denied, but that all those who are subject to the Laws of Excise are under a great many Inconveniences, which their Fellow-Subjects not liable to such Laws are free from : This alone ought to be a sufficient Inducement for us to go into a Committee ; for in most Cases Petitioners, who complain of Grievances, are to prove the Facts they alledge before the Committee ; and Petitioners are generally referred to Committees upon Suggestions only of Grievances, which ought to be redressed ; but the Case now before us is much stronger, the Facts alledg'd by the Petitioners are allowed to be true, and the Grievances complain'd of such as ought to be redressed ; yet some Gentlemen are against so much as taking their Petition into Consideration. If this be treating our Fellow-Subjects as they ought to be, I leave to the whole World to judge ; but, upon the presenting a Petition, and upon a Debate whether that Petition ought to be referred to a Committee, to desire Gentlemen to agree upon particular Facts, especially when the Facts must all be such as cannot be known to any but those in the Management of the publick Revenue, is really unreasonable : It is desiring Gentlemen to agree upon Facts which it is impossible for them to know, 'till they can in a proper Way have an Opportunity to inquire into them. If the House should agree to go into a Committee upon this Petition, I do not doubt but such Papers will be called for, as will make it appear by undeniable Matters of Fact, that not only the Petitioners ought to be relieved, but that something must be done for putting an End to the infamous Practice of Smuggling : So that our not being able at present to fix upon any particular Facts, is so far from being a Reason against, that it is a strong Reason for our referring this Petition to the Consideration of a Committee. The Petitioners have very just Grounds to hope this House will take off from them those Shackles, we most justly refused to put upon the Dealers in Wine and Tobacco : They have as good a Title to all the Liberties and Privileges of Englishmen as any other Subjects, and I can see no Reason for distinguishing them from the rest of their Countrymen. In the present Case Gentlemen need not be afraid of making a Precedent, and laying a Foundation for a great many Petitions ; there are no Dealers in England followed by the Laws of Excise as the Dealers in Tea are, except only the Dealers in Brandy ; therefore, the giving Ear to the heavy and just Complaints of the Petitioners, can lay no Foundation for a Multitude of Petitions being brought in upon us from the Dealers in other Commodities ; for tho' there are other Commodi-

Anno 7. Geo. II.
1713-14.

ties subject to the Laws of Excise, yet those go no farther than the first Manufacturer; they do not follow the Commodity into the little Shops and Cellars of every petty Retailer. Gentlemen tell us, that we are to have Matters of much greater Weight before us, which require a more immediate Consideration, and which will take up the whole of that short Time we have to be together. I know nothing of greater Weight than that of effectually securing the publick Revenue, encouraging the fair Trader, and relieving our Fellow-Subjects from the Grievances they labour under; and I with the Gentlemen would inform the House, what it is they think a Matter of much greater Weight. I am sure, if we are upon the Brink of a War, it renders it much the more necessary for us to take the Petition into our Consideration: As the War can be supported only by the publick Revenue, if we are in such Danger, it is the more incumbent upon us to take all possible Methods to secure and increase that Revenue; and as in time of War the fair Trader labours under many Discouragements abroad, it will become the more necessary to take care that he shall labour under as few as possible at home; and if we are threat'ned with a War, it is the Business of this House, and of every Man who wishes well to the present Establishment, to be more diligent than usual in conciliating the Minds of the People to his Majesty's Government, which can only be done by removing their Grievances as soon as we hear them: Thus, every Argument that has been offered against going into a Committee, when duly considered, appears to be a strong Argument in Favour of the Motion; therefore, unless some more weighty Arguments be offered, I am persuaded the House will not reject it."

Mr Philips Gibbon spoke next:

Sir,

Mr P. Gibbon.

"I stand up to agree with my worthy Friend, in the Motion he made for referring this Petition to a Committee of the whole House; and as I have not yet heard any one Argument against it, I shall not take up much of your Time. I have indeed heard Gentlemen argue against what they imagine may be proposed when we go into it, which to me seems a very preposterous Way of arguing; they first form to themselves hideous Notions of what is to be proposed in that Committee, and from thence they resolve to be against going into any such Committee. I would be as unwilling, as any Gentleman in this House, to do any thing at the present Juncture for lessening the publick Revenue, and I am far from believing any such Thing is intended to be proposed; yet if I did believe it, I should be willing to hear what Gentlemen had to say upon that Head, and therefore would not be against giving them an Opportunity, especially

in a Cafe every Man allows to stand very much in Need of Redrefs.

Anno 7. Geo. 11.
1732-34.

‘ I am of Opinion, those Gentlemen who shew so very great a Concern for the Revenue, need not be so much afraid that the giving a proper Relief to the Petitioners would diminish the publick Revenue ; for I believe when proper Papers and Accounts are called for, and the Matter fairly and fully examined, it will appear that the Revenue has been no great Gainer by the Alteration some Time ago made in the Method of collecting the Duty upon Tea : I believe it will then appear, that the Increase of the publick Revenue has not near kept Pace with the Increase of the Consumption ; so that if those Gentlemen have really nothing else to fear but a Decrease of the publick Revenue, they need make no Difficulty of relieving the Petitioners. Gentlemen say, the Session is to be but short, and therefore we have not Time to enter into the Consideration of this Affair ; upon which I must say, those who talk so, seem to have forgot one of the chief Ends of our Meeting here : The Usage of Parliament anciently was, to grant no Supplies till all Grievances were first redressed, but the Method seems now to be entirely altered : Gentlemen find Time enough to load the Nation with many and heavy Taxes, but can spare no Time, it seems, to relieve the People from any Burthen or Grievance they justly complain of. They who talk so, must certainly have much more Assurance than I am Master of : I wonder how, after such a Declaration, they can with Confidence look their Constituents in the Face, far less expect that they should again do them the Honour to send them hither. Those Gentlemen really talk of this House, as if they looked on it as a Register for Taxes, and as if we had nothing to do here but to grant to the Crown what Sums the Ministers should please to call for : I hope, we are not yet come to such a low Pass ; I have still a better Opinion of this House than to believe, that you will reject a Motion so reasonable and so necessary.’

Then Mr Walter Plumer said,

Mr Plumer,

Sir,

‘ I am so sensible of the Grievances of the Petitioners, and the Necessity of doing something to put a Stop to that growing Evil of Smuggling, that I have been in Expectation of this Petition ever since the Session began. The Time I spent in the Country, during the last Recess of Parliament, happened to be where I had Occasion to see a great deal of that infamous Practice ; so that if there was no other Motive for going into the Committee proposed, than that of endeavouring to do something to prevent Smuggling, that alone with me would be a prevailing Motive ; and for

that

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that Reason I am surpriz'd to see the Motion oppos'd by any Gentleman; much more by those Gentlemen, who must know much more than I do of the great Increase and fatal Effects of this infamous Practice. In the County of Suffolk, the Smugglers went about in such formidable Bodies, that if something is not done to put a Stop to it, they may soon threaten Danger even to our Civil Government: I have often met them in Gangs of 40 or 50 together all so well mounted, that even the Dragoons could not come up with them; and they give such excessive Wages to the Men that will engage with them, that the Landed Interest suffers considerably by it: The common Price of a Day's Labour in that Country is already got up to 18d. and, even at that Price, it is with great Difficulty that the Farmers can get Labourers; and how can it be otherwise? For all the young clever Fellows of the County are employ'd by the Smugglers; from them they have half a Crown a Day while they wait upon the Sea-Coast for the landing of the Goods, and as soon as the Goods are landed, and they mount on Horseback to go about the Country to dispose of them, they have a Guinea a Day, and are well entertained during their Attendance: Thus they find a much easier and more profitable Employment than any they can have from the Farmer, and while they are thus employ'd, all Improvements of Land must remain in Suspence. Gentlemen may talk of the great Check put upon Smuggling, by the joining of the Laws of Excise to the Laws of the Customs, but they must allow that that Project, from which so much Benefit was expected, has proved altogether ineffectual; and I am afraid, that all other Methods will prove ineffectual, as long as the Duty is so high, and so much Advantage to be got by running. In that Part of the Country where I was, Tea is generally sold by Retailers in their Shops, at 5 s. a Pound; and as we must suppose the Importer to have a Profit upon Importation, and as the Duty amounts to above 4 s. 9 d. a Pound, I leave Gentlemen to judge whether it is possible, to sell by Retail at 5 s. *per* Pound any Tea, upon which the Duty has been honestly paid. It is easy to guess whence all this Tea comes; the Smugglers buy it in Holland, at 2 s. *per* Pound, and from thence run it into this Country; the Dutch buy it in the East-Indies at 6 d. *per* Pound, so that this Nation pays the Dutch 1 s. 6 d. *per* Pound for the Carriage. This must be a vast Loss to the Nation, and certainly so great an Advantage to Holland, that I am sure, if there were now a Dutch Minister in our Gallery, he would be extremely pleased to hear this Motion rejected; and would not fail to acquaint the States General, how much the Interest of Holland had, by some Gentlemen in a British House

House of Commons, been preferred to that of Great Britain. I am amazed to find that some Gentlemen do not see how much the Revenue suffers by the Practice of Smuggling, and tho' I do not expect that they should take any great Care of the Subject, yet I hope they will take some Care of the publick Revenue, since they have the fingering and managing of it. Upon the whole, I must say, if we have any Regard for the Subjects in general, for the Trade of this Nation, for the publick Revenue, for the landed Interest, particularly the Tillage; we certainly must agree to go into this Committee; I am sure nothing more worthy of our Consideration can possibly come before us; therefore I shall be most heartily for the Question.

Anno 7. Geo. II.
1733-34.

Then Mr Henry Pelham spoke against the Petition.

M: H. Pelham,

Sir,

' I cannot say, indeed, with the Gentleman who spoke last, that I have been in daily Expectation of this Petition; on the contrary, I was in Hopes, as the Sense of this House had been taken upon it last Session, the Petitioners would have chosen a more proper Time for renewing their Request, than when we are upon the Brink of a War. Our Situation is at present such, that to do any Thing which might possibly lessen the publick Revenue, would be acting otherwise than this House ought to do; the presenting it at such a critical Juncture, seems really done with no other View, but that of reviving those Clamours and Disturbances, which were lately so artfully stirred up over the whole Kingdom. It is impossible to talk either for or against committing a Petition, without entering some way into the Merits of it, and into what may be expected to be done in that Committee: In this, if there is any Irregularity, the Gentlemen who have spoke for referring the Petition to a Committee, have been as guilty as those who spoke against it; but in my Opinion, there is nothing more proper to be consider'd at present, than whether or no there can possibly be any Thing proposed in that Committee, for redressing the Grievances complained of in the Petition; for if no present Redress can be thought of, it would not be very consistent with the Dignity of this House, to go into a Committee upon any Affair, only to stare at one another, and then to break up without hearing any Thing proposed, or coming to any one Resolution; and as yet I have heard nothing mentioned, nor so much as hinted at for us to do in that Committee, but what might probably diminish the publick Revenue, which is a Risque we ought not to run at present. I am very sensible of the great Enormities committed by the Smugglers, especially in the adjacent Counties. The open and outrageous Manner in which they carry

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on their Frauds is well known ; but that Method of Smuggling is much more expensive, difficult, and dangerous, than the private Way they had of carrying on that Practice, before the Laws of the Excise were joined to those of the Customs ; it is likewise well known, how many Seizures have lately been made, and how many of those Smugglers have been quite ruined and undone ; this must necessarily discourage any new Undertakers in that Way, and will certainly put an End to the Practice. I shall not now pretend to say, what Increase has been made to the publick Revenue, by subjecting Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate to the Laws of Excise, but it is certain that Branch of the Revenue has been since that Time increased, and I cannot think but there was more Smuggling before than since that Alteration was made ; there were not indeed so many Seizures made before, nor was Smuggling formerly carried on in so open or so violent a Manner ; so that it has since made a great deal more Noise, and from thence most People conclude, falsely I believe, that Smuggling has lately increased.

‘ It is true, most of those Things now under the Laws of Excise, are not so much followed after as Tea, which indeed makes a Difference as to the Number of Persons who are thereby subjected to the Excise Laws : But as to those who, by their being Manufacturers of such other Commodities, are subjected to such Laws, they certainly have as much Reason to complain of Grievances, as the Dealers in Coffee and Tea can possibly have ; and therefore they have as good Reason to apply to Parliament for Relief. Have not the Maltsters, Brewers, Soap-boilers, and a great many others, as good a Title to all the Liberties and Privileges of Englishmen, as the Dealers in Coffee and Tea, or any other Subjects ? And the Reason for distinguishing both from the rest of their Countrymen is, because the publick Utility and the Nature of their Business, make it absolutely necessary to do so : If we then take the Case of the Petitioners into our Consideration, can we expect but all the other Sorts of Traders, who are, or imagine themselves in the same Circumstances, will not apply to us for Relief ? And will it be consistent with the Justice of Parliament, not to take their Cases under our Consideration, as well as the Case of the Petitioners ? Thus shall we open a Door for a great deal more Business, than we shall have Time to dispatch in this Session or in this Parliament. In the present Case, Gentlemen ought to consider, that the Duties upon Coffee and Tea are appropriated to the Payment of the publick Debts ; and therefore, before we attempt any Alteration, as to the Method of collecting it, or any Thing that may possibly diminish it, we ought to have the Consent of those who are interested therein,

therein ; and in case of a Diminution we ought to be well assured of the Means to make it up in another Way. I have always had, and shall have as great a Regard to the Interest of the Subject, as any Member of this House ; and I do not doubt but the honourable Gentleman who spoke last has the same : But I never could think the taking Care of the Subject, and of the publick Revenue, were distinct Considerations ; they are certainly the same, and in all our Deliberations in this House we ought to have a Regard to both. I agree, that something may, and ought to be done, for putting an immediate Stop to the present Practice of Smuggling, but I think it more consistent with the Wisdom of this House, not to enter upon so copious a Field at the very Close of a Parliament ; and therefore, as one that wishes well to the Subject, as a Member of this House, and as an honest Man, I shall give my Vote for ordering the Petition to lie on the Table.

Anno 7. Geo. II.

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Mr Pulteney spoke next in Favour of the Petition :

Sir,

‘ I find that all the Gentlemen, who have opposed this Motion now in your Hand, pretend to be of Opinion, that this is not a proper Time for going into the Committee proposed. This was, I remember, the chief Argument made use of in last Session of Parliament against taking this Petition into our Consideration ; then indeed they pretended, that the Petition was signed but by a few of the Dealers in that Commodity : But this Objection being now intirely remov’d by the Gentleman who presented the Petition, they are oblig’d to have recourse to the other Objection, which they then made use of. In last Session they told us, ‘ This Session ‘ is near an End, we have not Time now to enter into the ‘ Consideration of the Matters complain’d of in the Petition, ‘ but next Session it shall be done.’ Now we are in the next Session, and in the Beginning of the Session too, they cannot tell us the Session is near an End : But they say, ‘ This Session will be but short, and as it is so near the Close of ‘ a Parliament, we cannot now enter into the Consideration ‘ of this Affair, but it shall be done next Parliament.’ What arrant Trifling is this ? Can Gentlemen expect that this House will be treated in such a Manner ? Who is the Gentleman can promise, that this will be done next Parliament ? Can he, who fancies himself the greatest Man amongst us, be sure of having a Seat in next Parliament ? Or if he has, can he be sure that his Power and Sway will be the same ? But why should this be but a short Session ? There is no Necessity, that I know of, for putting an End to the Session so soon ; if there is, why did they not call us sooner ? Those in the Administration have the sole Advising of his Majesty, and it

Mr Pulteney.

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lies wholly in his Breast when to call us together, as well as when to put an End to the Session. Shall our Trade then lie exposed to Fraud and Smuggling? Shall our Fellow-Subjects continue to groan under Loads of Oppression, only because they are resolved this Session shall be a short One? The honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, seemed to think that this Petition was presented with a View only, as he said, to revive the Clamours, and renew the Disturbances that were last Year without Doors. This I am surpriz'd at! Shall our oppressed Countrymen be accused of having a Design to raise Disturbances, when they complain to Parliament of the Grievances they labour under? Shall those who sue to us in the most humble Manner, and pray that we would take their Case into Consideration, and give them some Relief if possible, be deemed seditious? No, they cannot be so much as suspected of having any such Design; but if the present Motion be rejected, it will, and it ought to revive those Clamours, and renew those Disturbances, which were last Year most justly raised over the whole Kingdom, by a most wicked Scheme which was proposed in this House: The Nation will from thence most justly conclude, that the Scheme then set on Foot is not yet laid aside; they will have Reason to fear, that an honourable Gentleman may perhaps be able to persuade Gentlemen, at the Beginning of a Seven Year's Parliament, to agree to that wicked Scheme, which he could not persuade them to agree to immediately before a new Election. If our Fellow-Subjects were intirely relieved from the Oppression of Excise-Laws, it might not perhaps be so easy to saddle us with them again; but the Gentleman is resolved to preserve this as a Nest-Egg, as a Foundation to build on, whensoever he has a Mind to take up again his favourite Scheme. Gentlemen seem to be in a Fright, as if the publick Revenue were to be diminished or taken away; but I am convinced their Fears are groundless: All that is desired is, that we would go into a Committee, that we would take the Affair once seriously into our Consideration, to see if any Thing can be done more effectually to secure the publick Revenue than it is at present, and at the same time to grant some Relief to those who petition for it, and have a Right to expect it. This will give us a Title to return to our Constituents with some Confidence; and I can see no Reason why we should leave to any future Parliament the Honour of doing a Work, which will be of such signal Service to their Country and to their Fellow-Subjects: The Grievance now complained of was, without doubt, the Foundation of that wicked Scheme which we had last Year before us; and I am convinced, no Gentleman who had the Honour of opposing that Scheme, will agree

agree to the rejecting of the present Motion ; otherwise the House must be much changed from what it was when an honourable Gentleman, on seeing the Minority daily increase, and the Majority sicken away, was at last forc'd, almost with Tears in his Eyes, to give up his favourite Child, of whom he seem'd to have a most extraordinary Opinion, when he said, ' That Gentlemen, who envied him other Things, would some Day or other envy him the Honour of that Project.' I am perswaded he still entertains the same good Opinion of it, and waits only for a proper Opportunity to renew it ; for which Reason he is unwilling that we should go into such a Committee as is now propos'd, lest we should sap all the Foundations of any future Project for a farther Extension of the Excise-Laws.'

Anne 7. Geo. II.
1733-34.

To this Sir Robert Walpole replied.

Sir,

' If I were to follow the Gentleman, who spoke last, Sir R. Walpole in all he has said, I must intirely neglect the Question before us ; but of late it has become so fashionable for Gentlemen to run away from the Question, and say every Thing their Fancies suggest to them, that it is impossible to give them any Answer, and keep to the Order of Debate. I cannot comprehend how I come to be any way personally concerned in the present Question, yet most of what the Gentleman said seem'd in a particular Manner to be directed at me, which indeed is a Subject I always speak to with the greatest Unwillingness, as it is very little worthy the Attention of this House. As to those Clamours which were lately, or have at any other Time been rais'd without Doors, I know that all the means human Industry was capable of, have been employ'd to raise Clamour against me in all Parts of the Kingdom ; but it is my Happiness, that after ten Years Endeavours for that Purpose, no Objection could ever be made to my Conduct, except what proceeded from something I had propos'd or mov'd for in this House. I am not conscious to myself that I ever propos'd any Thing in this House, but what I thought consistent with my Duty, as a Member of this House, as a good Subject, and as a Servant to the Crown ; and in such Case, Gentlemen may talk of the Privileges of Parliament, and of the Freedom of Debate in this House, but if what a Man says is to be misrepresented, and Clamours rais'd against him without Doors, for what he honestly and fairly propos'd, or gives as his Opinion in this House, I must leave to the House to judge, what their Privileges may in Time come to. As to the wicked Scheme, as the Gentleman was pleas'd to call it, which he would persuade Gentlemen, is not yet laid aside, I, for my own Part, can assure this House, I am not so mad as ever again

Ann 7. Gen. II.
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to engage in any Thing that looks like an Excise, tho' in my own private Opinion I still think it was a Scheme, that would have tended very much to the Interest of the Nation, and I am convinced that all the Clamours without Doors, and a great Part of the Opposition it met with every where, was founded upon artful Fallhoods, Misrepresentations, and Insinuations that such Things were intended, as had never entered into the Thoughts of any Man I am acquainted with.

I will now try, if I may be allow'd to speak a few Words to the Question now before us, but must first take Notice, that I do not remember any Promise made last Session, that this Petition should be taken into Consideration in this Session; nor do I know any Person that could make such Promise, or that can now say it shall be consider'd of next Session. I am sure I never made any such Promise; but I believe any Gentleman may say, that the next Parliament may, if they please, take the Affair into their Consideration; and I think it is an Affair of such Consequence, that it will be more proper to enter upon it in the Beginning of a new Parliament, than at the very Close of an old one. It has been pretended, that the Alteration made some Years ago, as to the Method of collecting the Duties on Tea, has not prevented the running of that Commodity, nor increased the Revenue in Proportion to the Increase of the Consumption; to prove this, Gentlemen have been pleased to make Computations, but, as was before observed, they took a very unfair Method. As to the Running of Tea, the Alteration made has not indeed entirely prevented it, but I am sure it has made Running a great deal more expensive and dangerous; therefore one may with a great deal of Probability conclude, that no such large Quantities of Tea have been run since the late Alteration was made, as there were before that Time; or at least it may be said, that as all Sorts of Teas are now sold much cheaper abroad than they were formerly, and all our Smugglers are become more cunning, and more bold and desperate, a great deal more of that Commodity would have been run in upon us, if that Alteration in collecting the Duty had not been seasonably made. As to the Increase of the publick Revenue, if Gentlemen will take that Branch of it at a Medium for seven Years before and seven Years after the Alteration, I believe it would be found to have been a growing Revenue from that Time 'till the Year 1729, when indeed it began to decrease; but that was not owing to the new Arts found out by the Smugglers, but to the Increase of their Profits by Smuggling; for in that Year the Dutch had four Ships at China, and the French had four more, by which they imported so great Quantities of Tea, and were obliged to sell it so cheap, that they not on-

ly supplied those Places we formerly used to supply, but greater Quantities of it were run in upon us, because the Increase of the Difference between the Price of that Commodity Abroad and the Price here, considerably increased the Profits to be got by Running, which made the old Smugglers run greater Risks, and engaged a great many new Adventurers in that pernicious Trade; and this is the true Cause why that Branch of our publick Revenue began then to decrease; but if the former Method of collecting that Duty had been then in use, it would have decreased much more considerably; nay, I do not know but it might have almost intirely vanished. Another Mistake which Gentlemen have fallen into is, they have, as to the Produce of this Branch of the Revenue for last Year, forgot to make any Allowances for the large Quantities now in the Warehouses of the East-India Company, which must all pay Duty before it can be removed in order to be sold for Home-Consumption; so that to pick out any one Year for determining the Amount of that Part of the publick Revenue, is a very fallacious Way of computing, because it intirely depends upon the Sales which the East-India Company are pleased to make, and not upon the Quantity that is consumed within the Kingdom for that Year, and yet Gentlemen have been so candid, as to pick out this last Year, when the Produce was less than it has been in any one Year since the Alteration was made, in order to compare it with the Year immediately preceeding the Alteration, when the Produce was higher than it had ever been before; and for this plain Reason, because, when that Alteration began to be talked of, every Body imagined, that it would inance the Price of Tea, and therefore most private Families laid in great Stocks of Tea, before the Alteration took Place. When Gentlemen talk of going into Committees to consider of taking the Duties off of any Commodity, they do not surely reflect, that it would be entering into an Affair which requires the most mature Consideration; there are many other Duties which ought to be lowered or taken off, if it were possible; and if we were to go into such a Committee, I do not know but it might be thought more reasonable by many Gentlemen to take off the Duty on Soap and Candles, than to take off, or even to lower the Duty now payable upon Coffee and Tea; but these are Considerations which I cannot think proper to be entered upon in the last Session of a Parliament; therefore I must be against the present Motion, whatever Use may be made of putting a Negative upon it: The rejecting of it may perhaps be made Use of by some Gentlemen to raise new Clamours, and to increase the Number of Cockades, with the fine Motto of *Liberty, Property, and no Excise*; but whatever Hopes may

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be conceived from such low Artifices, I entertain no Fear about them, nor shall they ever deter me from declaring my Sentiments freely upon any Subject that comes before this House.

Mr Speaker.

Hereupon the Speaker rose up, and said,

Gentlemen,

I *is no Business of mine to appear on either Side of the Question: But it is my Duty to take Notice, when Gentlemen are disorderly. There is nothing more irregular than for Gentlemen to be personal in their Debates, or to mention any Thing that has been said in a former Session of Parliament, or even only the very Day before.*

Mr W. Pulteney.

Upon this Mr Pulteney stood up again, and said,
Mr Speaker,

‘ It is certain there is nothing more irregular, than for Gentlemen to be personal in their Debates, or to mention any thing that has been said by any particular Gentleman in a former Debate; but if I am the Person meant, I cannot think I have been guilty of any of these Irregularities. I have said nothing but what related some way to the Question in Hand, or in answer to what had been said by some of the Gentlemen who spoke before me. But now I’m up, I’ll just mention one Thing, with the Indulgence of this House, which the honourable Gentleman who spoke last seems to mistake; he seemed to me to talk as if Gentlemen meant to take off the Duty on Tea: No Body, I believe, has spoke of taking off that Duty; but if the Duty be too high, or laid on in a wrong Manner, if we go into a Committee on that Affair, I doubt not but something may be proposed for securing the Duty to the Publick more effectually than at present; and for levying it in a Way which may be more convenient and agreeable to the Subject. We may remember what was the Case of the Duty upon Pepper, that Duty was found by Experience to be too high; it was lower’d, and even by the lowering of it, the Revenue came to be a considerable Gainer. This may be found to be the Case, with respect to Tea, but this we cannot judge of till we go into a Committee upon it, and have all Papers proper for our Instruction laid before us.’

Sir J. Barnard.

Sir John Barnard spoke next,

Sir,

‘ The honourable Gentleman over the Way has endeavour’d to prove by Argument, the contrary of what is known to be true in Fact. He granted, indeed, that the subjecting of Tea to the Laws of Excise has not indeed prevented the Running that Commodity; but then he

if it had not been subjected to the Laws of Excise, much greater Quantities would have been run, because of the great Difference that there has lately been in the Price of Tea Abroad, and the Price of it in this Kingdom: Now, I cannot believe there is, or has lately been, so great a Difference between the Price of Tea in foreign Parts, and the Price at our East-India Sales; for it is certain that our East-India Company must and ought to regulate their Price according to the Price it bears in foreign Markets: They certainly buy it as cheap in China as any other Company can do, and it costs them no more to bring it Home, therefore they ought to sell as cheap as any Company does, otherwise they cannot pretend to sell any of their Tea in a foreign Market; and it is to be hoped, they do not make use of their exclusive Privilege, to lay a Tax upon this Nation, by making us pay dearer for their Tea than we can purchase it from others: This indeed would give an Encouragement to Smuggling, but this would be owing intirely to their making a bad Use of their exclusive Charter. For this Reason it is to be presumed, that in the Year 1729, when the Price of that Commodity fell so much Abroad, it fell a great deal likewise at our East-India Sales here; and therefore that Difference, which the Gentleman built so much on, cannot be the real Cause of the Decrease of that Branch of our Revenue since that Time; but this is a Fact which we ought to inquire into, and a strong Reason for our going into the Committee I have proposed.

'Tis true, the Laws of Excise do not contribute any thing to the Encouragement of Running; this is what no Gentleman has asserted, but I am convinc'd they have contributed nothing to the preventing of Running; and I am sure, if it does not appear, that they have contributed very remarkably to the preventing of that infamous Practice, we ought not to leave such a Number of our Fellow-Subjects, even for the Space of one Year, under the Burthen of such oppressive Laws, otherwise it cannot be said, that we have that Regard to the Ease of the People, which a British Parliament ought to have, and I hope will have. The Gentleman found Fault with the Computations made, but let him make his Computations what way he will, I believe it will be found, that the Increase of the publick Revenue has bore no Proportion to the Increase of the Consumption; and this last Increase, which must be acknowledged by every Man, is a good Reason why the Rule, which the Gentleman proposes for discovering whether the Revenue has been a Gainer by subjecting Tea and Coffee to the Laws of Excise, ought not to be observed; for if the Consumption gradually increas'd for seven Years before, and seven Years

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Mr J. Cockburn.

Alteration we shall make, especially when it is for freeing such a considerable Number of their Fellow-Countrymen from great Hardships; but it will be Time enough to think of this after we have come to the Resolution of going into a Committee upon this Affair; therefore that Argument can be of no Manner of Weight against the Question.'

Mr John Cockburn spoke next.

Sir,

'In our present Situation, I would be very far from agreeing to any Thing that could possibly diminish the publick Revenue; but I am certain the Revenue can be in no Danger by our agreeing to the present Motion; for when we are in the Committee proposed, if any such Thing should be offer'd, Gentlemen may freely give their Negative to it, notwithstanding their having given their Consent for going into a Committee. I must say, I have not heard much Argument made use of by the Gentlemen who have oppos'd this Motion: The whole of what they have said resolves in this, that the Time is improper, because the Session is to be but short; so that the true Question now before us, is, Shall we allow so many of our Fellow-Subjects to labour under what they apprehend to be a Grievance, without making the least Inquiry into their Complaints? Or shall we sit three or four Days longer than some Gentlemen intend we should? As this seems the only Question before us, it is easy for any Gentleman to determine, which Side he ought to take; I shall most certainly be for going into the Committee moved for.'

Mr Jos. Danvers.

After him Mr Joseph Danvers said,

Sir,

'I am so far from being for the Question before us, that I think this House shews a great deal of good Nature, in allowing the Petition to lie upon the Table; for, in my Opinion, it ought to be rejected. I shall, indeed, readily be for any Thing that may discourage not only the Running, but the Importation of Coffee, Tea, or Chocolate; for I with we would or could be made all to return to the good old Way of our Ancestors, in breakfasting upon good English Ale and Bread and Cheese. Both the Men and Women of those Days were, I believe, as strong and as healthy as they are now, and yet what they made use of for Breakfast, did not carry one Penny out of the Nation: However, I think we may find out a much properer Time for inquiring into this Affair, than the very last Session of a Parliament, and a Session which must be taken up in considering Things of much greater Consequence, not only to this Nation, but to Europe in general. An honourable Gentleman talked much of a Scheme, which was before us last Year, which he was pleased

pleased to call a wicked Scheme; but I differ so far from him, that I think the Gentlemen concerned in the Administration never did a Thing so wrong, as the giving up that Scheme: I then thought, and still think, it would have been very much for the Interest of the Nation, and I am sure that it might have been carried, if those Gentlemen had not of themselves let it drop.*

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Then the Question being put, for referring the said Petition to a Committee of the whole House, it was carry'd in the Negative by 233 against 155.

The Druggist's
Petition drop'd.

February 5. Sir John Rushout presented to the House, according to Order, a Bill to prevent the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing, which was receiv'd, and read the first Time, and order'd to be read a second Time.

A Bill against
Stock-jobbing read
the first Time.

Feb. 6. The House resolv'd itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the Supply, and the proper Estimates being referr'd to that Committee, Mr Andrews,* stood up and spoke as follows:

Sir,

' By the Employment I have the Honour to be in, it naturally falls within my Province, to take Notice of the Estimates which have been laid before us, relating to the Charge of the Guards, Garrisons, and other his Majesty's Land-Forces in Great Britain, in the Plantations, and in Minorca and Gibraltar, for the Year ensuing: By these Estimates Gentlemen will find, that the Charge for next Year does but very little exceed that for last Year; and therefore, considering the present State of Affairs in Europe, which must be known to every Gentleman in this House, I think it would be but mispending the Time of the Committee, to say any Thing with relation to the Question I have now in my Hand to move to you.

Debate concerning
the Land-Forces.

Mr Andrews.

' The Difference between the Situation this Nation is in now, and the Situation it was in last Year, sufficiently justifies the small Addition that is propos'd to be made to our Land-Forces; the Addition propos'd is no more than 1800 Men, and even this Addition is propos'd to be made in the easiest and least expensive Way: We have now three Regiments at Gibraltar, which have always hitherto been placed on the British Establishment, because, tho' they were sent there upon an Emergency, it was never before thought necessary to continue them there; but since a War is broke out in Europe, it cannot be thought safe to recall them, and therefore in their Place it is propos'd to add 1800 Men to the Regiments we have now at home, and to place them for the future on the Establishment for Minorca and Gibraltar. This, in my Opinion, is so reasonable and so necessary a

Demand,

* Deputy-Paymaster of the Army.

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Demand, that I shall give the Committee no farther Trouble, but beg Leave to move, That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards, and Garrisons in Great Britain, and for Guernsey and Jersey, for the Year 1734, be, including 1815 Invalids, and 555, which the six independent Companies consist of for the Service of the Highlands, 17,704 Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Hereupon Sir William Wyndham spoke as follows :

Sir,

‘ I do not stand up to oppose the Motion made by the honourable Gentleman over the Way ; for as the Motion stands, the Number of Forces proposed to be kept up for next Year is, I find, no greater than that which was kept up for last Year, and, according to our present Situation, I do believe the keeping up the same Number of Forces will not be thought very extravagant ; but by what the Gentleman was pleased to say, there seems to be an Augmentation design’d ; I shall therefore beg Leave to propose an Amendment to this Question, because, as to our own particular Situation, we are still left in the Dark.

‘ There is no Gentleman in this House, who can agree to any Demand that comes from the Crown more chearfully than I shall, when I see any Reason or Necessity for such a Demand : But when any Augmentation of our Forces, either by Sea or Land, is demanded, when any additional Load is desired to be laid upon the People, while I have the Honour to be one of the Representatives of the People, I shall always expect to have sufficient Reasons shewn me, before I give my Consent for complying with any such Demand ; and therefore, upon every such Occasion, I think a full Information ought to be given touching the Situation of our Affairs, that we may from thence judge, whether we ought to consent to what is proposed : Nay, though no Augmentation had been asked, if nothing more were to be asked, but to keep up for next Year the same Number that was kept up last Year ; yet, as it is a heavy Charge upon the People, and cannot surely be always necessary, the Consent of Parliament ought not to be expected, without giving us some good Reasons for it.

‘ For this Reason, I hope, that some Gentlemen who can inform us, will rise up and let us know something of our present Circumstances : It is high Time we should know, not only our present Situation but likewise, what Share we are to take, or if we are to take any, in the War now begun in Europe : It is chiefly with this View, that I am to offer an Amendment to the Question : My principal Design

sign in it is, that some Gentleman may rise up, and give me some Argument, afford me some Excuse, for my consenting to lay a new Load upon a People whom I know to be already most heavily loaded. I know, Sir, we are in a Committee, and therefore I may be indulged in speaking more than once, for which Reason I shall now add no more, but only move, that the Words, *And including the three Regiments of Tyrrawley, Grove, and Kirk,* may be added by way of Amendment to the Question.

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He was oppos'd by Mr Henry Pelham :

Mr H. Pelham.

Sir,

My Opinion is the same with that of the honourable Gentleman who made you this Motion ; the Augmentation proposed is, I think, so very small, the Manner of doing it so easy, and so little expensive, and the Necessity of doing it so evident and apparent, that I did not expect that either I or any Gentleman else should have been under a Necessity of standing up to say any Thing in Support of the Motion. The honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, has proposed an Amendment, and wants much, it seems, to be inform'd of our present Situation, and hopes that some Gentlemen will stand up and satisfy him : I do not take upon me to speak as a Person any way concern'd in the Administration, I speak only as a Member of this House, and, as such, I want no farther Information ; the Lights I have, and which every Gentleman in this House must know, are sufficient to enable me to give my Vote in the present Question : If other Gentlemen, whose Curiosity may be greater than mine, want to know more than they yet know, I am afraid they will return from the House no wiser in that Respect, than when they come to it ; for Gentlemen are not obliged to say more than what is necessary for their present Argument ; nor are they bound, upon every Occasion, to satisfy the private Curiosity of other Men.

Every Gentleman must know the present Circumstances of Affairs in Europe, and from that Consideration alone must see the Necessity of the Augmentation proposed ; The three Regiments, which are at Gibraltar have been, 'till now, kept upon the British Establishment, because it was not expected, that we should have been obliged to continue them there : But since a War is broke out in Europe, since our Neighbours have all great Armies in the Field and great Fleets at Sea, would any Man think it wise or prudent in us, to diminish the Strength of that Place by recalling those three Regiments ? Or can any Gentleman in this House think, that a less Number of regular Troops at home is necessary now in the Time of War, than what was last Year, in the Time of Peace, thought necessary for the Defence

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of his Majesty's Person and Government? Surely no Member of this House can possibly think so, and therefore I cannot see how any Gentleman can disagree with the Question now before you; since all that is thereby proposed is but a small additional Expence of 34 or 35,000 l. to the Nation. It is only an Augmentation of our Forces at home, equal to, and in the room of those three Regiments, which it is now become necessary to put upon a foreign Establishment; for after they are once put upon that Establishment, it is certain they cannot be called home, whatever Necessity we may have for them here; and, for all that has been formerly said by Gentlemen about numerous Standing Armies, I know very well, that while I served in another Office, we never were able to make such a Disposition of Quarters, as to have it in our Power to call above three or four thousand Men together upon any Emergency. For these Reasons, Sir, I cannot agree to the Amendment proposed; on the contrary, I never was, I think, clearer in any one Question I moved in this House, than I am in that which you have in your Hand.'

Hereupon Mr George Heathcote stood up, and said,

Sir,

Mr G. Heathcote,

'As the Situation of Affairs in Europe is very much altered since last Year, so my Opinion, with respect to the Army, is greatly changed. I was, 'tis true, last Session against keeping up such a Number of regular Troops, as the Majority of this House were pleased to agree to; but the Reasons which then made me vote against the Number proposed, seem to be good Reasons for agreeing to what is now proposed. We were then in a State of perfect Tranquility, both at home and abroad; but now the Scene is changed, and we are in great Danger of being involved in that War, which is already broke out: Do not we see the King of France, who for some Years has been in a State of Inaction and seeming to mind nothing but Diversions, now settling with great Application to publick Business, and following the Footsteps of his ambitious Predecessor? Do not we see, that he by his Armies, in Conjunction with those of Spain and Sardinia, has in a very short Time, over-run a great Part of Italy? This has given the Alarm to all the Princes of Europe, and certainly ought to give us some likewise. We are perhaps amongst the most remote from Danger, but it may reach us at last; and in such Circumstances, I should think it very unwise not to be upon our Guard; for which Reason I cannot but agree to a Demand, which in itself I think so modest and so reasonable; and I wish that the present Question had been agreed to without any Opposition or Debate, in order to convince the whole World that

there is a good Harmony subsisting between his Majesty and his Parliament.' Anno 7. Geo. II.
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Sir Thomas Lumley Saunderson spoke next :

Sir T. Saunderson.

Sir,

' Notwithstanding what has been said by the two honourable Gentlemen who spoke last, I am of the same Opinion with my honourable Friend who moved for an Amendment to the Question ; for unless we are to engage, unless we are to have some Share in the present War, I can see no Necessity, nor indeed any Reason, for the Augmentation proposed ; because I am very well assured, none of the Powers engaged in War will attack us, if we have a mind to stand neutral ; and if his Majesty were resolved to take any Share in the War, or even to give the least Assistance to either of the Parties engaged, he would certainly have communicated his Resolutions to his Parliament : Surely those Gentlemen who have always thought, at least of late Years, that an Army of 18,000 Men is necessary in Times of Peace, to support his Majesty's Government, can never think, that the Addition of 1800 will enable him to take any Share in the War, or to give Assistance to any of his Allies ; from hence I must conclude, that his Majesty is not to take any Share in the War, so that the Smallness of the Augmentation demanded, which they make use of as an Argument for prevailing with us to agree to it, is with me a very strong Argument for refusing to give my Consent.

' But, Sir, the chief Argument with me for being against the present Question is, that I am afraid lest the Number of Forces kept up last Year should come to be thought always necessary to be kept, even in Times of the most profound Peace and Tranquility ; and indeed the Gentleman who spoke last but one seemed to insinuate as much, so that from henceforth we may reckon an Army of 18,000 Men as a Part of our Constitution ; and even this Army it seems is always to be augmented, whenever any little Quarrel happens between any two of our Neighbours, and that whether we are to have any Share in the Quarrel or not : This is the principal Reason, Sir, why I cannot agree to the Question, as it now stands, and therefore I shall be for the Amendment proposed.'

Mr William Pulteney then spoke as follows :

Mr W. Pulteney,

Sir,

' The honourable Gentleman who moved the Question did extremely well in opening and explaining it to the Committee, for it is in itself so dark and intricate, that without the Explanation he was pleased to give us, I believe there are very few Gentlemen in the House who would have understood it, or could have imagined, that a large Aug-

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mentation was thereby meant to be made to our Land-Forces in Great Britain : By the Words of the Queen, no greater Number of Land-Forces than what was voted last Year appears to be demanded, yet when it comes to be explained, we find that there is a Demand for an Augmentation of about 2000 Men : Here is an Army in Disguise ; it really puts me in mind of Bayes's Army in the Play, for it would have been an Army *incog.* if the Gentleman had not been pleased to discover it.

' An honourable Gentleman told us, that those three Regiments now at Gibraltar, if they should once be put upon that Establishment, could not be called home, let the Occasion for them here be never so pressing ; this I cannot admit, I can see no Impossibility of calling them home, tho' they should be put upon that Establishment ; but, granting they were, have we not 12,000 Men in Ireland, from whence we may call home as many as we please, upon any Emergency : Has not this been done in former Times ? And did not the Parliament of Great Britain willingly make up the Difference of the Pay, and all the other Charges that attended the Transporting of them : Besides this, cannot we call for Troops from Holland, whenever we have Occasion for any such ? Has not this likewise been formerly done ? We know that the Dutch are by Treaties obliged to furnish us with 10,000 Men, if we should be attacked by any Power in Europe, and that at their own Expence too ; tho' I believe, indeed, that we never had as yet any such Assistance from them, but what the Parliament of Great Britain was obliged to pay for.

' The Gentleman spoke likewise of the Disposition of Quarters, and the Difficulty of getting a Number of Men together, on any Emergency. Sir, I have had the Honour to serve in that Office, as well as the honourable Gentleman, and I never knew a Disposition of Quarters so made, but that almost all the Troops in Great Britain could be got together by regular Marches, time enough to oppose any Enemy that could come against us, unless they should drop from the Clouds ; I cannot comprehend, from whence Gentlemen imagine that such Troops should be sent against us : Must they not march, from their several Quarters, to the Sea-Coast of that Country from whence they are to come ? Must they not have a Fleet of Ships to transport them, and a fair Wind to bring them to this Island ? Will not all this take up Time, and that enough to give us an Opportunity of assembling our Forces ? This, really, Sir, to me seems to be raising Fantasms in the Air, in order to find Pretences for loading the People of England with Taxes.

' The

' The Amendment propos'd was not, I believe, meant by the honourable Gentleman who mov'd it, so much to be insisted on, as to oblige those Gentlemen, who desired us to consent to this Augmentation, to shew us some Reason for so doing; and with this View I must join with him, and will be for the Amendment, 'till I hear some Reason given for the Augmentation: If those Gentlemen will vouchsafe to shew us any Reasons for what they ask, and those Reasons shall appear to be sufficient, I make no Doubt but that my worthy Friend will be ready to drop the Amendment he has propos'd; and, 'till some Reason is offered to us, I think I have no Occasion to say any thing more upon this Subject. When they have shewn us their Reasons for making the Augmentation, I shall either agree with them, or I shall endeavour to shew why I do not think the Reasons they have offered sufficient.'

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Hereupon Mr Pelham stood up again, and explained what he had before said, with respect to the calling home the Regiments from Gibraltar, and with respect to the Disposition of Quarters.

Mr H. Pelham.

This done, Mr Walter Plumer said,

Sir,

' I cannot but think that it is highly reasonable, for Gentlemen to expect a little more Satisfaction than what they have yet got, as to the Necessity for this Augmentation before they agree to it: This House has always been said to hold the Purse of the People; but if we should agree to any Tax or Measure, which may oblige us to load the People with Taxes, without the least Reason assigned, we could not justly be said to be Masters of the Purse of the People; we could be only the Slaves who carry it, in order to open it as often, and as wide as our Masters shall please to demand. From all that has been said, I cannot see, that we are in any immediate Danger either at Home or Abroad; and I am afraid, that the putting of those three Regiments upon the Establishment of Gibraltar, may be done with a View to make the People of this Nation feel the Expence of that Place, in order to make them sick of it, and so to induce them the more easily to agree to the delivering it up.'

Mr W. Plumer.

Then Mr Digby spoke as follows.

Sir,

' The Number of Land-Forces now propos'd to be added to the Number voted last Year, I must own to be but very inconsiderable: But as the Number voted last Year was by many thousands more than I thought necessary, I must now look upon all those thousands, as an Addition made this Year to the Number of our Land-Forces; and as that Addition is much larger than I can judge to be necessary, from all

Mr E. Digby.

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that I have heard from those Gentlemen who are so fond of increasing our Army, I cannot but be against any new Levies.

Gentlemen tell us, ' That the Expence of the Augmentation proposed will be no more than 34 or 35,000*l.* But to this I must add the Expence of those many thousands, which last Year I thought very unnecessary to be kept up, and in this Light the additional Expence of our Army for this Year will amount almost to hundreds of thousands: Besides, those Gentlemen seem to forget, that every Man added to the Army is a Man taken from the Labour and Industry of their Country; and with this View the real Loss to the Nation will amount to double that Sum. Do they think that the Labour of a working Man is to be valued at nothing? I believe at the most modest Computation, the Labour of every working Man in the Kingdom, one with another, brings in 20*l.* to his Country: It is by the Labour and Industry of such Men, that the Trade, and consequently the Riches and the Power of this Nation is supported; therefore the taking any such Man from his Labour, must be doing a real Injury to his Country.

' What was mentioned by an honourable Gentleman affords me a most melancholy Consideration: He was afraid lest an Army of at least 18,000 Men should come to be made a Part of our Constitution; I am of Opinion, that the Gentleman's Fears are by much too well founded; for there are so many Gentlemen, who seem to look upon an Army of 18,000 Men as always necessary for the Support of our Government; that tho' we have for some Years past been in a State of the most profound Peace, we have never been able to reduce our Army below that Number; but, as that Number is not necessary in Time of Peace; as I think it is sufficient, even tho' we were in some little Danger of a War, I cannot agree to any Augmentation, unless I see some greater Necessity for it than has been yet shewn.'

Then Sir William Wyndham stood up again, and said,
Sir,

Sir W. Wyndham.

' My honourable Friend has done me Justice, in saying, the Amendment, I moved for, was principally with a View of having a little Information from some Gentleman in the Administration, as to our present Situation, in order that I may from thence be able to judge of the Necessity of complying with the Demand made by the Crown: This is, I think, no more than what the Parliament ought to desire, and certainly has a Right to expect; and therefore I cannot even yet think, but that some Gentleman, who is qualified for that Purpose, will give us at least as much Information about our present Circumstances, as may enable us to give some

some Reason for our consenting to the Augmentation now demanded.

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1733-34.

Upon this, Sir Robert Walpole rose up and spoke as follows.

Sir,

‘ Tho’ I had resolv’d to sit still and say nothing in the present Debate, yet, as I believe myself pointed at by the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, when I find myself so often called upon, I cannot forbear giving some Answer to what Gentlemen have been pleas’d to say against the small Augmentation of our Forces, which has been propos’d. As to the Information which Gentlemen are so fond of having, I do not really know what they mean by it, or what they want to be inform’d about : It is publickly known, that there is a War now broke out in Europe, even his Majesty in his Speech has taken Notice of it, and in the same Speech his Majesty has been pleas’d to declare to us, that he is yet no Way engag’d in the War, nor would determine himself ’till he had examin’d the several Facts alledg’d by both Parties : This, Sir, is a Deliberation consistent with the Wisdom of his Majesty’s Councils, and from thence we may be assur’d, that we are not as yet any Way concern’d in the present War ; we may, ’tis true, be concern’d relatively and consequentially ; but, from what his Majesty himself has told us, we must conclude that we are under no present Engagements ; and therefore I must think it strange in Gentlemen to expect or desire any Declaration from his Majesty, or those who have the Honour to serve him, before any Resolution has been taken, nay, even before his Majesty could possibly have an Opportunity to inquire into those Facts, which, he has told us, he will thoroughly examine before he determines what to do.

Sir R. Walpole,

‘ But as it is a Matter of the utmost Consequence to all the Powers engag’d in the War, to know what Part Great Britain is to take, or whether or no we are to take any Part in the present War ; we may conclude, that they are all extremely anxious about knowing what we are to do. And surely, if there is any Power in Europe, who may in the Event become the Enemy of Great Britain, particularly interest’d in, and therefore anxious to know the Result of our Deliberations, it would be a very good Reason, if there were no other, why Gentlemen ought not to expect the Satisfaction they seem so earnestly to desire, especially before so full and so publick an Audience : This, I say, would be a good Reason for his Majesty not to declare his Resolution here, even supposing he had come to a Resolution ; and ’till his Majesty thinks fit to publish his Resolutions, Gentlemen may believe, that neither I, nor any Member of this House,

who

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who has the Honour to serve the Crown, will be ready to make any Declarations in this Place, 'till we do it *ex Officio*, and by his Majesty's Orders.

* Now, Sir, without any farther Information, let us consider the present Circumstances of Europe; we all know, and his Majesty has told us, that a War is broke out in Europe; we are not immediately concerned in this War; but as the too great Success of either Side may endanger the Liberties of Europe, we are certainly concern'd in the Event; and as we are concerned in the Event, those Powers, who may now, or hereafter come to think, that we are, in Interest or Self-Preservation, obliged to declare against them, will not they, as soon as they begin to think so, endeavour to take us at a Disadvantage, and before we are prepared for our Defence, in order to prevent our attempting to put a Stop to those ambitious Views, which Success may inspire them with? Is it not therefore necessary for us to be upon our Guard, and to provide in Time for our own Defence? Upon this Consideration, the Necessity for the Augmentation proposed, which some Gentlemen pretend they cannot discover, is to me so apparent, that it speaks itself; and the Demand is in itself so modest, and so evidently shews, that his Majesty's Inclinations are to lay as few and as easy Burdens on his People as possible, that I must say, the making of any Difficulty to comply with it, does not testify any great Respect towards his Majesty, nor a warm Affection or Zeal for his Government; and therefore I hope the Question will be agreed to without any Amendment.

* As to the Insinuations made by a worthy Gentleman over the way, that there was a Design to make Gibraltar appear expensive, in order to make People sick of it, and induce them to consent to the giving it up, the repeating this Insinuation is, I think, a sufficient Answer to it; for to say that the Ministry, by adding three Regiments to the Defence of Gibraltar, are in a Plot to deliver it up, has something so ridiculous in it, that I am surprized it should drop from that honourable Gentleman; but I am persuaded he did not mean to be serious when he made that Insinuation, and therefore I shall take no farther Notice of it.

Mr W. Pulteney.

Hereupon Mr William Pulteney replied:

Sir,

* I believe most Gentlemen, as well as myself, whose Expectations were raised when the honourable Gentleman stood up, have met with a very great Disappointment: That Gentleman, from whom we had Reason to expect something that would have been of Weight in the present Debate, has not only told us, that we are to have no Reason for what we are desired this Day to agree to; but has given us very little

little Hopes of having, at any other Time, that Information, which one would think a British Parliament might expect. Are we to vote powerful Fleets, and numerous Armies; are we to lay new and great Burthens on the People, and all this without being told any Reasons for what we are desired to do? What Satisfaction can we give our Constituents, if they should ask us, why we have augmented our Standing Army, which must always be dangerous to the Liberties of our Country? Why we have consented to the increasing the publick Charge, which is already heavier than the People can bear? Really, to this most material and reasonable Question, I know as yet of no other Answer we can give, but only that his Majesty has told us in his Speech, that there is a War broke out in Europe, in which we have no manner of Concern; and his Ministers have told us, that we ought to be afraid of the Armies and Fleets raised and fitted out by our Neighbours, because they are under an absolute Necessity of employing all the Armies they can raise and all the Fleets they can fit out, in those Parts of Europe which are most remote from us. We have Zeal, Sir, I hope we have all a great deal of Affection and Zeal for his Majesty's Person and Government; but do not let us allow his Majesty's Ministers, or even his Majesty himself, to expect such a blind Zeal from his Parliament: It is inconsistent with the Dignity of Parliament, and I am sure that Parliaments, thirty or forty Years ago, would hardly have been persuaded to have shewn so much Complaisance to the Ministers of the Crown.

* What has been observed by some Gentlemen, I own, Sir, weighs greatly with me: From the Demand now before us we have Reason to conclude, that 18,000 Men may be the Number intended to be always kept up within this Island, even in the Times of the greatest Peace and Tranquility; and that the Augmentation now required is done with a View only, that when such Times shall again come, those in the Administration may have an Opportunity to pretend great Merit, in reducing the 1800 Men now proposed to be added: We all know what jealousies and Fears the People have entertained at the continuing of this Army, during the last Years of perfect Peace and Tranquility both at Home and Abroad; and if that Measure should be again attempted when those Days of Peace return, every Man must then conclude, that that Army is kept up, not for defending us against our foreign Enemies; but for the Safety of those who have rendered themselves odious among the People, and for defending them against the Resentment of an injured and a plundered Nation: If this should ever happen to be our unfortunate Condition, the People will certainly

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certainly make a Struggle for the Preservation of their ancient Constitution: This will certainly be the Case; I know it must be the Case, and when it is, I hope those who shall bring us under such hard Circumstances will find, that even this Army of 18,000 Men will not be able to stand against the whole People of England. I have a great Opinion of many Gentlemen who have now Commands in the Army, and if such a Case should happen, while they have any Command, I make no Doubt but they would behave as their Predecessors did at the Revolution; I dare say, that most of them would soon be found of the People's Side of the Question.

‘ If we are, Sir, to have any Share in the War, the Addition of 1800 Men is but a Bauble; and if we are to have no Share, why should we bring any additional Expence upon the People? The honourable Gentleman would not say positively, that we were engaged or were not engaged, or that we were or were not to be engaged, but that we might be engaged relatively and consequentially; and this refined Quibbling, Sir, is, it seems, all the Satisfaction, all the Reasons he will vouchsafe to give Gentlemen, for agreeing to the Demand now made upon them. I see in English House of Commons to take this as a Reason for breaking in upon their Constitution, and for loading their Constituents with Taxes? Surely, Sir, let our Condition be never so bad, and I believe it is bad enough, if the Advice of Parliament is wanted on that Occasion, if their Assistance be desired, they ought to have a full Information of the present Circumstances of the Nation, and they ought to have sufficient Reasons given for the Demand that is made. But it seems we are for the future to have no other Reason given us for complying with any Demand that comes from the Crown, but only because it is asked; and if any Gentleman scruples to take that as a sufficient Reason, he is, it seems, always to be told, that his not agreeing readily to the Demand will be looked upon as a Want of Respect to the Crown: Let us, Sir, have all due Respect to the Crown, but for God's Sake let us have likewise some Regard to ourselves and to our Fellow-Subjects, without which I am sure we have no Business here, nor can the Nation ever reap any Benefit from our Meeting in this Place.

‘ The extraordinary Expence of the Augmentation now asked for, is said to be but 34 or 35,000*l.* It is, at least, 35,000*l.* which is a Sum that may, perhaps, sound but little in those Ears which are accustomed to Millions, yet it is a great Sum, and will be thought so by the People of England, who are already over-burdened with Taxes and Impositions: It is an additional Expence, which no Man ought

to consent to, unless he sees an absolute Necessity for so doing: The honourable Gentleman, 'tis true, says that the Necessity is apparent, and that it speaks for itself; it is well it does so, for no Gentleman has as yet thought fit to say any Thing for it; but as I neither can see this apparent Necessity, nor hear it speak for itself, I must therefore as yet be for the Amendment which has been proposed.*

Anno 7. Geo. II.

1711-14.

Upon which Sir William Yonge replied :

Sir,

* The Question now before us is, in my Opinion, so reasonable, and the additional Expence, which the honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, was pleased to call a great Sum, is, I think, so far otherwise, that I believe every Gentleman in this House, when he heard this Motion made, was surprized at the Modesty of the Demand, and could not but admire his Majesty's Wisdom, and the great Care he had of doing nothing that might be burdensome to his People.

Sir W. Yonge.

Gentlemen may, if they will, shut their Eyes, and not see that Object which stands before them in the clearest Light; but the Necessity of what is now proposed is to me as apparent as the Sun at Noon-Day. Tho' we be not as yet any way engaged in the War now carried on in Europe, yet no Man can answer for future Events, nor can we know what Resolutions foreign Courts may hereafter come to: It is for this Reason, that we ought to be always well provided for our Defence against any sudden Attempts, that may be resolved on or made against us; and we certainly ought to be better provided for our Defence, when our Neighbours are at War, than when they are in a State of profound Tranquility. When they are at War, they always have Armies in the Field, and Fleets at Sea; they have many Pretences for marching their Armies wherever they have a mind, and for fitting out what Fleets, and at what Places they think proper; with some of these they may come upon us unawares, and when we think that their warlike Preparations are designed against those they are actually at War with. Whereas, in time of Peace, though they have Standing Armies, yet those Armies are dispersed and in Quarters; and if any Number of them should be gathered together, and prepared for an Expedition, we should have a Right to demand the Reason for such Preparations; and we could easily judge, whether or no they were, or could be designed against us; as to their Fleet it is the same, though in Time of Peace they have Ships of War, as well as other Ships, yet their Men of War are mostly laid up in their Docks, and their other Ships employed in their proper Business; and if they should begin to fit out a Fleet, and prepare for a Naval Expedition, we should have a Right to demand whi-

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1733-34.

ther they were designed; and could easily judge, whether or no they could be intended for an Invasion upon us; in either of which Cases, we should have Time to prepare for giving them a proper Reception: From this Consideration it appears evident to me, that it is necessary for us to have both a great Fleet at Sea, and a more numerous Army at Land, when our Neighbours are engaged in War, than we have Occasion for when they are all in a profound Peace; and I cannot but think that the Augmentation now proposed is the least that can be judged necessary.

As to the Conjectures, Sir, which Gentlemen have been pleased to throw out, of what may be intended when Peace shall be again restored to Europe, I think no Gentleman now in this House is any way concerned in them, or obliged to give any Answer to what has been said upon that Subject: If what ought to be then done be not done, let those who shall then have the Honour to advise the King answer for it; but a Supposition that they will not do their Duty, can be no Reason for us to neglect or to refuse doing our Duty upon the present Emergency. The honourable Gentleman was pleased to say, that he had heard no Body speak, or give any Reason for the Necessity of the Augmentation proposed; if it be so, I am sure I have heard no Gentleman say any Thing against it, and therefore, since nothing has been said of either Side of the Question, let every Gentleman give his Vote, according to what his Thoughts may suggest to him.

Hereupon Sir Joseph Jekyll said,

Sir,

Sir J. Jekyll.

'As I shall always shew a ready Compliance with any Demands, which his Majesty shall please to make, when I see they are requisite for supporting or defending the Honour and Interest of this Nation; so I shall always be extremely cautious of agreeing to any thing, that may bring new Loads upon the People, by increasing the publick Expence, unless when I plainly see an absolute Necessity for it; and therefore, Sir, I cannot, for all I have yet seen or heard, agree to the present Motion. I am not ignorant of the present State of Affairs abroad, but as we are not as yet any way engaged in the Quarrel, I can see no Danger we are in from any Power abroad, and therefore can find no Reason for our making any additional Provision for our Defence; for tho' we were really in some Danger, we have, in my Opinion, sufficiently provided against it, by the large Armaments we have already voted for the Sea-Service, which, as it is our natural Defence, was cheerfully, and, I may say, unanimously agreed to: Nay, if we were to give some Assistance to some of the Powers engaged in the

the War, which no Gentleman has yet said we are, it is certain that we may assist them as effectually by our Fleet as by our Land-Forces, and in such Case I should be for augmenting our Naval Force rather than our Land-Army.

Anno 7. Geo. II.
1717-18.

The honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, endeavoured to shew, that we ought to be better provided for our Defence, when our Neighbours are engaged in War, than when they are in a profound Peace; but in my Opinion, if we are no way engaged in the Quarrel, we have then less Occasion to provide for our Defence; because when our Neighbours are engaged against one another, they will certainly be so far from doing any thing that may disoblige us, that we must then be courted by both Parties, if not for our Assistance, at least for this, that we observe an exact Neutrality; and to me it really seems a Paradox to say, that any Nation in Europe will be the more ready to attack us, because they are already deeply engaged against another Enemy. For this Reason I must conclude, that we are in no Danger of being attacked, 'till we come to a Resolution to join one Side or other; when we have once come to such a Resolution, we ought to provide for Offence, as well as Defence, and 'till then we ought to save as much as possible, that we may be able to execute our Resolution, when taken, with the more Vigour.

Gentlemen talk of France, and of the great Armies they have in the Field, and the great Fleets they have at Sea; but I am sure we can be at present under no Apprehensions from them: That Nation has now Work enough upon their Hands, in sending two great Armies to different Parts of the World, and providing at the same time for their own Security at home; and whatever Fleets they may have at Sea, it is certain, that they will have Occasion for them elsewhere; nay, even tho' they had not, I doubt much if it be in their Power to send any such Fleets to Sea, as could give us just Cause of Fear. When Gentlemen talk of Invasions, I hope they do not think that this Nation is to be conquered by ten or twelve thousand Men; and unless they could send at once such an Army, as would be able to conquer the Nation, any lesser Number would be just so many Men thrown away; for our Fleet would not only prevent Succours from coming to them, but would likewise prevent its being in the Power of those who landed, to make their Escape out of the Island.

But besides, its not being in the Power of France to attempt any thing at present against us, I believe it is not in their Inclination: They certainly look upon us as their Allies, and have, I believe, good Reason for so doing; I shall not enter into a Disquisition of the many Engagements we

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are at present under to foreign Powers, but I am afraid they are such, that whatever Measures we may pursue with respect to the present War, it will not be easy to reconcile the Honour and the Interest of this Nation. If our Interest should call upon us to assist the Emperor and his Allies, I am afraid we must forfeit our Honour to France and her Allies; and if our Interest call upon us to assist France and Spain, we must equally forfeit our Honour to the Emperor; nay, if we should observe an exact Neutrality, I am afraid both Parties would have some Grounds for accusing us of a Breach of Faith; I shall not pretend to give Names or Epithets to any Measure, or to any Minister; but a Management, which has brought the Honour and Interest of the Nation thus to clash, I cannot applaud.

‘As the Design of proposing the Amendment, which has been offered, seems to be only in order to procure some Information, or some Reasons for the Augmentation demanded, I must say, that if the Demand on one Side be thought so very modest, it must be granted that what is asked on the other Side is full as modest; and if nothing has been said for or against the Augmentation, it certainly ought not to be comply’d with; for there is an eternal Reason against it, which every Member of this House must know: The People of England are not to be loaded with unnecessary Charges; if this new Charge be unnecessary, it ought not to be comply’d with; and if there be a Necessity for it, that Necessity ought to be shewn to this House; the Parliament has as good a Right to have the Reasons for any Demand from the Crown laid before them, nay, a better, in my Opinion, than the Crown has to expect a Compliance, without shewing them any Reasons for their so doing; and therefore, ‘till some Reasons be offered for our complying with the Demand, I shall be for the Amendment.’

Mr Talbot spoke next in Favour of the Augmentation.

Sir,

Mr Talbot.

‘I am heartily sorry I should differ from the honourable and learned Gentleman over the Way, with whom I have always, ‘till now, concurred in Questions of this Nature; and for whom I have the greatest Respect and Esteem. As I have always been one of those Gentlemen, who have appear’d against keeping up numerous Standing Armies in time of Peace, I think myself obliged to give my Reasons before I give my Vote for the Augmentation proposed: For though I never thought, that we ought to keep up a large Standing Army in time of a profound Peace, yet when there is a War actually kindled in Europe; when our Neighbours are all making vast military Preparations, I must think that we ought then to add a little to our Forces both by Sea and Land,

Land, not only for our own Security at home, but likewise to add to the Influence which we may have, and ought to aspire to, with all the Parties engaged in the War.

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' It is certain, Sir, that if there were no Parties nor Divisions among us, this Nation would have no Occasion to be afraid of ten or twelve thousand Men poured in by Surprise upon us; in such Case I do not believe any Power in Europe would attempt to invade us with double the Number; but as there are Parties and Divisions among us, and always will be, as long as we are a free People, ten or twelve thousand Foreigners, joined by all the Power of the Disaffected amongst ourselves, might do us a great deal of Mischief, if not overturn our present happy Establishment, especially if we had but a small Number of regular Forces at home.

' It is likewise certain, Sir, that none of the Powers engaged in the War will attack us, or do any thing to disoblige us as long as we remain quiet, and they are under no Apprehensions of our going to join with their Enemies. But when such a general War is broke forth in Europe, when the united Forces of France, Spain, and Sardinia, are tearing the Emperor's Dominions in Italy asunder, are we to be altogether unattentive? Are we to sit intirely regardless of a War, which may end in the total Overthrow of the Balance of Power in Europe? Surely, Sir, we are not; and if we should resolve to join either Party engaged in the War, or if either of them should but suspect such a Thing, would not the Party against whom we should resolve to join, or who suspected that we were to come to such a Resolution; would not that Party, I say, attempt to make a sudden Invasion upon us? For tho' they could not perhaps expect immediate Success, yet it might give such a Diversion to the Arms of this Nation, as might prevent its being in our Power to put a Stop to their ambitious Views, or to preserve the Balance of Power in Europe.

' In this Case, Sir, it is of no Weight to say, that, after we have come to such a Resolution, it will be Time enough to provide for our Defence; for, as I have said, the Apprehensions of our Neighbours may be sufficient Cause for them to invade us, and those Apprehensions we can know nothing of 'till we feel the Effects of them; but even as to our own Resolutions, they may happen to be discovered, as soon as taken; and as it requires a long time to raise any Land-Forces, and to discipline the Men, so as to make them fit for Service, it will be too late then to begin only to provide for our Security at home; we ought, before we agree to any such Resolutions, at least to be secure at home;

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home; and then, after it is taken, we may with Ease provide for acting an offensive Part.

‘ Upon the whole, Sir, if any very large Augmentation had been now demanded, I should not perhaps have given my Vote for complying with that Demand, without having been a little better informed as to the Necessity for making such an Augmentation; but the Augmentation now asked is so small, that I look upon it as done chiefly with a View of shewing the World, that there is a good Harmony subsisting between his Majesty and his Parliament, which, perhaps, some Powers abroad have been made to doubt of: And therefore I shall not only heartily comply with the Demand made by his Majesty, but I wish that no Sort of Unwillingness had been shewn by any Gentleman in this House; for as nothing can give so great a Weight to the Counsels of this Nation among foreign Princes, as a strict Union between the King and his Parliament; so nothing can give such a Stab to our Influence abroad, as an Attempt to destroy that Union; and if Great Britain should lose all the Weight it has in the Scale of Europe, to what a Pass it might bring the Affairs of Europe I shall leave to Gentlemen to judge.

‘ In short, Sir, those who oppose an Army, as well when it is become necessary as when it was unnecessary, I must suspect of having some other Reasons for their so doing, than those they publickly avow. To me the Necessity of the Augmentation asked appears to be sufficiently evident; therefore I am ready to give my Vote against the Amendment proposed.’

Mr Wyndham.

After him Mr Wyndham spoke against the Augmentation; and then Sir John St Aubin spoke as follows:

Sir,

Sir J St Aubin.

‘ I cannot persuade myself to agree to the Motion as it now stands, because I have as yet heard no Reason given for convincing me, that the Augmentation now demanded is necessary; for tho’ it be called but a small Number, yet to me and to all those Gentlemen, who were last Year of Opinion, that the Number of Land-Forces then voted was by much too large, the Augmentation must appear to be very considerable, as has been already observed. By the Arguments I had formerly heard for continuing the Army, and the Arguments I now hear for augmenting the Army, it appears plain to me, that some Gentlemen are of Opinion that an Army, of at least 18,000 Men, will always be necessary for the Support of our Government, and consequently must become a Part of our Constitution; for when our Neighbours are all at Peace, we are told that we must keep up at least that Number of regular Troops, because
our

our Neighbours have nothing to do with their Troops elsewhere, and may therefore make sudden and unexpected Invasions upon us; and when any two of our Neighbours are at War with one another, which is the present Case, we are told we must keep up a numerous Standing-Army, because our Neighbours have large Armies in the Field, and great Fleets at Sea, which they may turn suddenly against us.

* I have, Sir, a very good Opinion of the English Sol-dieri, and when they have been properly employed, and kept in Action, they have always done great Honour to their Country; but an Army kept here at Home, in a State of Inaction, and wantoning in Lewdness and Luxury till they have quite lost the true Spirit of Englishmen, and are become fit to be made Slaves themselves, may easily be persuaded to make Slaves of their Fellow-Subjects; and therefore I shall always be against keeping up a numerous regular Army within this Island, let the Pretences for it be never so plausible: Our Government has been supported for many Ages without any such Army, and even during the whole Course of the last two great Wars, there never was a greater Number of Forces kept at Home for the Defence of this Nation, than the additional Number now proposed, above what I, as well as a great many other Gentlemen, thought necessary last Year to be kept up.

* Gentlemen talk of Parties and Divisions among us, and of its being necessary for us to prepare for our Defence before we come to any Resolution; there may be little Divisions among us, but as long as his Majesty enjoys the Affections of his People, those Divisions would immediately cease upon the Approach of a foreign Enemy; we would all then unite in the Defence of our King and Country; and as to preparing for our Defence, it is certain, that half the Number of the Troops we now have, would be sufficient to repel any such Invasion that could be suddenly brought upon us; and if any Design should be formed to invade us with a great Number of Troops, would not they require a great Number of Transport-Ships? Could such a naval Armament be prepared without our hearing of it? And have not we already voted a great naval Force, with which we might easily block up our Enemies in their own Harbour?

* While the true Maxims of English Policy are pursued, neither his Majesty, nor any of his Successors, will ever have an Occasion for Standing Armies; the King will always find a Security for his Person and Government in the Hearts and Purges of his People; but if ever a vicious Minister shall begin to act upon other Maxims, Armies may then become necessary to screen the Minister, or even to support his

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his Master; and such a Minister may perhaps find a corrupt Parliament, servilely and slavishly complying with his most unreasonable Demands: This may support him for a while, but the Spirit of the People will be roused at last, and even that Army, in which he puts his sole Trust, may probably join with the rest of their Countrymen, in taking Vengeance on the Man who attempted to enslave his Country.

' This, I say, may probably be the Case; but as Standing Armies may be so modell'd and manag'd, as to become proper Tools for tyrannical Power, therefore there is nothing a free People ought to be more cautious of; and as I can see no Necessity for the Augmentation proposed, I cannot give my Consent to the Proposition. I do not, indeed, know our present Situation; but whatever it may be, I must say, that if, by the Ignorance of him at the Helm, if by his shifting the Sails at every Turn of the Wind, our Ship be brought into great Distress, and our Reckoning quite lost, he ought in Justice and Modesty to resign the Helm. A General Council ought to be called, and every particular Circumstance laid fully before them, that they may from thence learn how Affairs stand, so as to be able to judge how to put the Ship in a right Course.'

Colt Cholmondeley.

Col. Cholmondeley, Member for Bossiney, spoke next for the Augmentation; and then the Question was put upon the Amendment propos'd by Sir William Wyndham which was carried in the Negative by 262 against 162. After this, the Question was put upon the first Motion, which was agreed to without a Division; and then the following Resolutions was likewise agreed to, That 647,429 l. 11 s. 3 d $\frac{1}{2}$. be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Charge of 17,704 Men for Guards, Garrisons, and other his Majesty's Land-Forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, for the Year 1734.

Ld Morpeth moves for a Bill to prevent any Commission Officer, not above the Rank of a Colonel of a Regiment, from being remov'd, unless by a Court-Martial, or by Address of either House of Parliament.

Feb. 13. The Mutiny Bill having been read a second Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House, the Lord Viscount Morpeth stood up and spoke as follows:

Mr Speaker,

' Though an Army be, as yet, no Part of our Constitution, yet we find the Parliament has, of late, thought proper to keep a much greater Number of Forces on Foot in this Kingdom, than was known in former Times. I have always been one of those, who thought a much less Number sufficient for the Defence of this Nation, and the Security of our Government; but a Majority of both Houses of Parliament have been of a contrary Opinion, being thereto induced, as I believe, sometimes by Plots, and treasonable Conspiracies at Home; and at other Times by the Situation of our Affairs Abroad, and the precarious State in which the

the Affairs of Europe happen'd to be in at that Time. This has been our unfortunate Case for many Years past, and it is to be fear'd that our Case for Years to come will not be much better, so that 'tis probable that the same Number of regular Forces, or perhaps a greater Number, may be thought necessary to be continued from Year to Year; therefore I think it is the Business of Parliament to put our Army under such Regulations, as may be thought proper and necessary for the Security of our Constitution.

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' It is certain, a numerous Standing-Army, intirely under the Influence of the Crown, or of any one Man, has overturned the Liberties of most Countries, and must always be dangerous to this; and tho' the Parliament has hitherto thought fit to consent to the keeping up the Number we have at present, yet it is well known what Fears and Apprehensions that Measure has created in the Minds of the People; and therefore it is become necessary for us to think of some Regulation which may quiet them, by securing our Constitution, as much as possible, against the bad Consequences usually attending the keeping up of a Standing-Army: This may be effected in a great Measure, by making our Army not altogether so dependent upon the Crown as they are at present; for the less dependent the Army is upon any one Man, the less dangerous they must be to the Liberties of their Country; and with this View it is that I shall beg Leave to make a Motion, which will, I hope, meet with a general Approbation.

' There is one Power now enjoy'd by the Crown, which must always be attended with the most dangerous Consequences; I mean, the arbitrary Power now lodged in the Crown, of removing the Officers of the Army at Pleasure: At present the Crown, or rather the Ministers and Favourites of the Crown, may remove any Officer of the Army, without any Reason or Cause assign'd, nay, even without so much as accusing him of any Crime or Neglect in his Military Capacity; and this Power must appear to every Gentleman to be the more dangerous, when we consider how many Gentlemen of the Army have Seats in this House, as well as in the other House of Parliament.

' In all the other Countries of Europe which have any Pretences to Liberty, tho' there are perhaps none of them that enjoy so much Freedom as we do, yet there are, by their Laws, some wise Provisions made, with respect to their Armies: In Holland no Officer can be broke but by Sentence of a Court Martial; but in Sweden, during the Reign of their last King, they were so sensible of the many Inconveniencies and great Dangers of this absolute Power, which their King had over the Army, that upon his De-

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mise, they made a Law, that no Officer should thereafter be removed from his Commission in the Army, without the Consent of the Senate. This must shew what Opinion all our Neighbours, who have any Regard for the Liberty of their Country, have of this arbitrary Power in the Crown; and, as I hope, there are no People upon the Earth who have a greater Regard to the Liberty of their Country, than the Gentlemen who now hear me, I shall therefore, without farther opening this Affair, move, That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill for the better securing the Constitution, by preventing the Officers not above the Rank of Colonels of Regiments, of such Land-Forces as shall at any Time be allowed by Authority of Parliament, from being deprived of their Commissions, otherwise than by Judgment of a Court-Martial to be held for that Purpose, or by Address of either House of Parliament.

Sir J. Rushout.

Sir John Rushout seconded the Motion thus :

Sir,

* The noble Lord, who has been pleased to make you the Motion, has opened it in so full and so clear a Manner, and has made it appear to me so reasonable, that I cannot help joining with his Lordship in it. That a Standing Army is no Part of our Constitution, will not, I believe, be denied by any Gentleman in this House, it being declared so by the Mutiny-Bill, which we have just now read a second Time; but yet our Army has been kept up so many Years, and is likely to be kept up for so many Years longer, that it is high Time to provide some Antidote for that Evil, which every Man so justly apprehends.

* By the Mutiny-Bill it appears, that no common Soldier can be punished or dismissed as guilty of a Crime, till he be first tried and found guilty by the Sentence of a Court-Martial; that the Officers of the Army should be in a worse Situation, that they should be liable to be removed, as if guilty, without any Crime so much as alledged against them, or any Trial or Sentence, appears to me so inconsistent, that I am surprized some Regulations in this Particular has not been made long ago. The noble Lord, who made this Motion, took Notice that there were, and, I believe, always will be, a great many Officers of the Army who have Seats in Parliament; there are now above forty who have Seats in this House; and tho' I have an Opinion of them, and do not doubt but that they will act with as much Integrity as any other Gentlemen in the House, yet as long as they are liable to be turned out of their Commissions at the Pleasure of a Minister, they may justly suspect that the Continuance of their Commissions, may depend upon their Behaviour in this House; and therefore it must be granted, that they are
more

more liable to a Ministerial, or a Court-Dependence than other Members are; for which Reason, I am sure that they cannot disapprove of a Proposition, meant chiefly to set them on the same independent Foot that other Gentlemen are on, with respect to their Behaviour in this House: I cannot indeed apprehend, that a Proposition in itself so reasonable can meet with any Opposition; but if it should, I make no Doubt of having the Assistance of those Gentlemen of the Army, who have the Honour to be Members of this House, in Support of a Proposition designed for their Security, as well as for securing the Liberties of their Country; I am only afraid lest Modesty may make some of them withdraw: This I shall be sorry for; but I hope none of them will shew so much Self-denial as to oppose the Motion, only because it is for their private Interest to agree to it. I shall not upon this Occasion give the House any farther Trouble; the Regulation proposed is so apparently reasonable and necessary, that I do not think it requires much to be said, either to explain or enforce it; and if any Objections should be started, I hope other Gentlemen will take Care to remove them, therefore I shall only second the Motion.

Hereupon Mr Clutterbuck stood up, and oppos'd the Motion.

Sir,

Notwithstanding what has been said by the noble Lord who made the Motion, and the honourable Gentleman who seconded it, I cannot give my Concurrence. The noble Lord set out with saying, that a Standing-Army is no Part of our Constitution: God forbid it should ever become so: But it is certain, that the Parliament may sometimes find it necessary to keep up a Standing-Army from Year to Year, for the Support and Defence of our Constitution; and for this Purpose it is, that the Parliament has of late Years consented to the keeping up of the Army, which some Gentlemen in this House have, indeed thought to consist of too great a Number; but I do not remember ever to have heard it so much as insinuated, that we ought not to have any regular Forces at all, in the Country. The Constitution of this Country is the best I know, or ever heard of; and therefore I shall always think, that all that is incumbent upon us, is to preserve and hand it down, as it is now, to those that shall come after us; but if there were any Flaw in our Constitution, I am sure the Proposition now made to us, would be so far from mending, that it would intirely sap and undermine it. It has always been the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, to make and remove the Officers of the Army at Pleasure; this is a Part of our Constitution, and to invade the Prerogative, or wantonly to rob the Crown of any

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Mr Clutterbuck.

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Part of it, is certainly an Invasion of our Constitution, which People ought to be extremely cautious of; for if we once begin to make Alterations or Innovations in our Constitution, it will not be so easy to tell where it will end, or how far we may go: If we once begin, we may be carried such Lengths as may intirely subvert that Constitution, which has rendered this Nation so rich and so powerful, and which makes us at present the happiest People upon Earth. While the Army continues in its present Condition, while the Officers depend upon the King for their Commissions, and the whole Army upon the Parliament for its Continuance and Pay, our Constitution cannot be subverted by our Army, nor can we be in any Danger from any Number of regular Forces so kept up; but if this Proposition should take Place, it would make the Army really dangerous to our Constitution; the Army would then become both independent of King and Parliament, and might soon make themselves Masters of both. There are many Crimes an Officer may be guilty of, which might give good and sufficient Reason to his Majesty to remove him, and yet those Crimes may be such as cannot properly be tried by a Court-Martial; for Example. Disaffection: His Majesty and all Mankind may be fully convinced of the Disaffection of an Officer, tho' it may be impossible to prove that Disaffection to the Satisfaction of a Court-Martial; and yet the Disaffection may be so flagrant, and so ready to break forth in some treasonable Act, that the Safety of the Government, the very Being of our Constitution, may depend upon the immediate Removal of that Officer; and as this Proposition, should it pass into a Law, would make such Officers the more bold and enterprizing, the Consequence of their Disaffection, which could not then be immediately prevented, would be the more to be dreaded. The noble Lord mentioned to us the Case of some of our neighbouring Countries, but I must think, that when we see other People more happy or more free than ourselves, it is then time enough for us to fly to other Countries to seek Examples for our Imitation: And as to the Case of Holland, I cannot say I have lately considered that Constitution, therefore I speak with Uncertainty; but I believe that as to their Army their Stadtholder has the same Power that our King has; he may, I believe, remove the Officers of the Army at Pleasure, and for us to take from his Majesty that Power, which all his Royal Predecessors have enjoyed, which even the States of Holland have trusted their Supreme Magistrate with, would, in my Opinion, appear very strange, especially since it must be granted, that his Majesty has never once made an ill Use of that Power, or done any Thing to deserve its being taken from him. In short, I take
this

this Proposition to be a most dangerous Innovation, if not a thorough Alteration of our Constitution; therefore I cannot consent to it.

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Mr Clutterbuck was answer'd by Mr Sandys.

Sir,

' I am very much surprized to hear the honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, say, that this Proposition would sap and undermine our Constitution; for if a Standing-Army be no Part of our Constitution, as he himself was pleas'd to admit, how can it be possible that any Regulation with respect to our Army, can sap and undermine, or indeed have any thing to do with our Constitution? It is certain, that our Army is not as yet any Part of our Constitution; but if a Standing-Army be continued, for any time to come, upon the same Footing it is at present, some future ambitious King, or criminal Prime-Minister may model it so as to make it not only a Part, but under them, the whole of our Constitution. The Officers of the Army and other Dependents upon the Crown, may at last become so numerous in both Houses of Parliament, that they may come to be almost the only Persons to meet here, in order to make Laws and impose Taxes, and then to send their Orders to their inferior Officers and Substitutes, to execute those Laws, and levy those Taxes; and all this under the Direction of an ambitious Prince or wicked Minister, who may make a blind Submission to the most arbitrary Commands, the only Tenure by which they are to hold their Commissions, or even their Seats in Parliament; in such Case I would gladly know where we could find the Liberties and Privileges of the People of England, or any other Constitution, but that of our King, his Ministers, and his Army.

Mr S. says.

' The Prerogative of the Crown, this Power which our Kings are said always to have enjoyed, and which Gentlemen are so much afraid of the Crown's being robbed of, is but a very new Prerogative; for a Standing-Army is so far from being a Part of our Constitution, that 'till of late Years there never was any such thing known in this Nation; 'Till the Revolution we never had any such Thing as a regular Standing-Army; the Army that was rais'd at that time, was rais'd to defend our Liberties and Properties, and to assist a Prince who came to rescue us from Slavery; as soon as the Danger was over, it was always understood, that the Army was to be disbanded, but the two heavy Wars we were successively engaged in, made it necessary to keep up a Standing-Army during the Reigns of that Prince and his Successor; and ever since that time there have always been, I do not know how, some Pretences found to keep up a numerous Standing-Army, even in times of the most profound

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found Peace ; so that we seem now so firmly saddled with it, that I am afraid few Gentlemen in this House will live to see our present Army, or any Part of them, reduc'd. Before the Revolution, those Armies, by which we always so bravely defended ourselves, those Armies, which made us a Terror to our Enemies, were Armies raised among the People, upon the Approach of Danger ; and as soon as that Danger was over, as soon as Peace returned, the Army was dismissed, and the Soldiers returned to their usual Labour and Industry ; in those Days it is well known that our Military Force did not intirely depend upon our Kings. The King, indeed, had the chief Command, but most of the other Commanders were such as were chosen by their respective Counties, or such as held their Commands by their Tenures, and could not be removed from that Command, without being legally found guilty of a Crime, no more than they could have been removed from their Free-holds : Therefore, when Gentlemen talk of the Prerogative of the Crown, which they say is to be invaded by this Proposition, they must be understood to mean only that Prerogative, which has grown up since the Revolution. It is certain, that the Prerogative of the Crown has always been a very growing Part of our Constitution, and for this Reason our Ancestors have often been obliged to clip and pare it, otherwise all the Liberties and Privileges of the People would long ago have been swallowed up by the Prerogative ; and, I believe, it will be granted, that the Prerogative, even within these last 30 or 40 Years, has grown pretty considerably. I believe every Gentleman will admit, the Power of the Crown is now infinitely greater than it was for some Years after the Revolution ; and I wish that those, who now seem so tender of invading what they call the Prerogative, would, upon other Occasions, appear as tender of invading the Liberties of the People : This ought to be the principal Care of every Member of this House ; the Crown stands in no Need of any Advocates here, because by our Constitution, the Crown may put a Stop to any Incroachment upon the Prerogative, when the Incroachment is such as may not be thought necessary for the Preservation of our Liberties. The Gentleman talked of Innovations and Alterations in the Constitution, as of something new and terrible ; I do not know what that Gentleman may mean by Innovations and Alterations ; but I am sure our Constitution has seasonably met with many Amendments. Do we not know, that formerly the Crown not only named, but could remove the Judges, at Pleasure ; and this arbitrary Power of removing, with respect to the Judges, was formerly a Part of the Prerogative ; but as great Inconveniencies were felt from the Use that had been

been made of this Power, it was taken from the Crown; and the Judges, when once named by the Crown, were by Law made Judges for Life. This Law, when first made, was certainly intended to make them Judges for their own Lives; but even this Part of the Prerogative has begun again to grow; and those very Gentlemen, the Judges themselves, have been prevailed on to find out I do not know what Quirks and Evasions, whereby they seem now to have fixed their Right for the Life of another Person only. However, even as it stands now, the Prerogative has thereby been diminished, and whether this was to be called an Invasion, an Innovation, or an Alteration, I do not know, but I am very sure, it was a very necessary Amendment, which has produced no Inconveniencies, nor any way injured our Constitution; and why doing the same thing with respect to the Officers of the Army, should give such a terrible Alarm to some Gentlemen, as if our Constitution was thereby to be sapped and undermined, I cannot comprehend. I agree with the honourable Gentleman, that our Constitution, to take it in the general, is as good, if not better than that of any of our neighbouring Countries, yet in some Particulars some of them may have the Advantage of us, and in these we ought not to be ashamed to take Example from them, and from thence endeavour to improve our own: For political Constitutions, even of the best Sort, are like the Constitutions of human Bodies, apt to languish and decay, and often stand in need of Restoratives; even our own Constitution, good as it is, wants every now and then to be polished and restored to its primitive Lustre, and particularly that growing Part, the Prerogative, ought sometimes to have its cumbersome Branches lopp'd off, otherwise it may become too heavy for the principal Stock: This is what our Ancestors have often done, and this is what I think we may in the present Case do, without the least Danger. The honourable Gentleman took Notice of the Trials by Courts-Martial, and said, that there were many Things an Officer might be guilty of, for which he ought to be removed, and which, nevertheless, could not be properly tried, or, at least, not fully proved before a Court-Martial; and he mentioned particularly the Case of Disaffection: I cannot grant that this is a Case which can often happen; but allowing that it might, it is fully provided against by the Motion which the noble Lord hath been pleased to make: Does not the Parliament sit every Year? And, in Case of an Officer's being notoriously disaffected, is it to be doubted, but that the Parliament would address his Majesty to remove such an Officer from all Command in the Army? And there could be no Danger from the Delay, because his Majesty could, in the

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mean

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Col. Bladen.

mean Time, suspend him, or even lay him under an Arrest, if it should be thought necessary.

Upon this Col. Bladen spoke as follows :

Sir,

' I can by no Means give my Assent to the Proposition now before us, as it tends to the taking from the Crown a Prerogative, which, not only by our Constitution, belongs to the Crown, but has, by express Acts of Parliament been declared to be solely in the Crown ; for a Proof of which, I shall only desire the two Militia-Acts passed in the 13th and 14th Years of the Reign of King Charles II. to be read.'

[Here the Clerk of the House read those Acts.]

* Whatever Gentlemen may say about our Constitution, it appears by these Acts, that the Sense of Parliament then was, that the supreme Government of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land then was, and ever was the King's undoubted Right ; and that the King might, at Pleasure, commissionate or displace the Officers of the Militia ; and therefore I must think, that if ever our Militia-Force was under any other Regulation, it was either a Regulation which was not according to our Constitution, or it was a Regulation which was found to be so inconvenient, that it was very soon alter'd. Gentlemen may indeed say, that these Acts concern only the Militia, and have no Relation to our Standing Army ; but as our Militia was found to be of little or no Use after our Neighbours began all to keep up regular Standing Armies ; therefore we were obliged to substitute, in the Place of our Militia, a regular Standing Army ; and consequently, the same Power over that Standing Army and the Officers of that Army, must be supposed to be vested, by these Acts, in the King, as he is thereby declared to have had over the Militia and the Officers of the Militia ; and now to attempt to take away that Prerogative, when I am sure it cannot be said that any wrong Use has lately been made of it, appears to me very extraordinary.

' I have heard, that some Gentlemen are so much out of Humour with our present Government, and so tired of our present happy Establishment, that they would do almost any Thing to get rid of it ; they would, for that End, even agree to the making a thorough Change in our Constitution, by forming it into a Commonwealth ; I could never indeed believe that there was any Truth in these Reports ; I could not believe that there could be such a Madman in this Nation : But should this Motion take Place, if I could so much as believe that Gentlemen were really serious in the Motion they have made, I would no longer look upon such

Reports

Reports as chymical ; for I never heard of any Motion made in Parliament, which tended so directly towards establishing a Commonwealth, as the present does, except some of those famous Motions which were made in the Years Forty and Forty-One ; and I am persuaded, if this Motion should take Place, it will produce the same Consequences.

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‘ What ! to create an Army for Life, an Army independent of the King, sure Gentlemen are not in earnest, or they must have forgot the Confusions, and the fatal Effects which were formerly produced in this Nation by such an Army. I thank God, I am none of those who are tired of our present happy Establishment : I think we enjoy our Liberties in their full Extent, and I shall never give my Consent to a Proposition, which would put it out of the King’s Power to remove any, even of those Officers who are appointed to guard his Royal Person, without the Consent of the other Officers : It would be found to be a difficult Matter to prevail with a Court Martial to punish or break an Officer, perhaps, for a Crime which every one of that Court Martial was himself guilty of. If the Gentlemen of the Army should once be made to depend only upon one another, they would soon be made sensible of their own Power, and we do not know what Use they might be tempted to make of it. In short, Sir, the Proposition, in my Opinion, tends to nothing but Confusion ; and therefore I am heartily against it.’

Sir Thomas Robinson spoke next against Lord Morpeth’s Motion, as follows :

Sir,

‘ I cannot help expressing my Surprise at a Proposition of this Nature ; for though it has been talked of without Doors for some time past, yet I never could ’till Yesterday believe that it would actually have been introduced here ; because it appears to me to be founded on a Supposition, that the same Number of Forces we now maintain, is for ever to be entailed on our Posterity.

‘ Had a Proposition of this Nature come hither from another Quarter, founded on the Perpetuity of the Army, it would have been thought highly unreasonable ; and if a Regulation thus founded, should pass this House, it may be made Use of hereafter as an Argument to continue the Army, when there is no longer any Reason for it ; and may be employed as a Means to interweave the Civil with the Military Power, and to make a Military Establishment a Part of our Constitution.

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‘ As this Question has been stated, the Power of the King and the Liberties of the People seem to interfere, and therefore it will be very difficult to speak in Favour of the one, without being liable to be represented as having a Design to depress the other; but as the Excellency of our Constitution consists in preserving a just Temperament between the King, Lords, and Commons, and the right balancing the Power allotted to each, we ought not to attempt to diminish the Power of either of these three in any Instance, unless by the Exercise of Power in that particular Case it be found, that that Branch of our Legislature is armed with a Strength disproportionable to the other two; and therefore, before we concur in taking away from the Crown the Prerogative of displacing Officers, it ought first to be very clearly demonstrated, that the Influence the King has at present over the Army, is greater than is necessary for the Security of his Person and Government, or greater than is consistent with the Liberties of the People; and this I take to be the very Point in Question.

‘ The very Point now in Debate seems to be, Whether the lopping off so great a Branch of Prerogative from the Crown, and transferring it to the Army, will not disarm the Crown of a Power necessary to keep the Army firm and steady to our present Establishment? and whether by trusting it in the Hands of the Soldiers, we may throw a greater Degree of independent Strength into the Army itself, than it ought to have, a much greater than has hitherto been thought either fit or prudent to intrust it with.

‘ Upon this Occasion, I cannot help reminding Gentlemen, what fatal Consequences attended that Law made in the Year 1641, whereby it was put out of the Power of the King to dissolve or prorogue the Parliament without their own Consent; if breaking the Balance of any of the three Powers in the Legislature, if the two Houses of Parliament assuming to themselves an Independency not lawfully vested in them by our Constitution, was attended with so many Evils, what may we not dread, should we see the Officers of an Army not removable, but by their own Consent? The History of the last Century fully shews us, what various Scenes of Confusion succeeded the fatal Statute I have just mentioned, and every one’s Thoughts may suggest to him, what must be the natural Consequence of this, should it succeed.

* If Gentlemen will only recollect a little the Roman History, they will find, that whenever Military Governments of Provinces were given for Life, or for a certain Term of Years only, or even when the Army got the Privilege of choosing their own Officers, the Sovereign Power came soon after to be lodged in the Army itself, and proved fatal to those very Persons who had acquiesced under these ill-judged Concessions; and I am afraid, if a Power should be given our Army, that no Officer shall be put out, but by the Judgment and Consent of the other Officers, the next natural Step for them to take will be, that none shall be put in or preferred, who have not their Recommendation; for Armies are of such a Nature, that they either must obey, or will soon command. Numberless Examples might be produced in Support of what I have said, both from ancient and modern History; but I shall not now enumerate Particulars, with which many other Gentlemen may be better acquainted than I am.

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* And that this has been the received Opinion of our Ancestors, since Monarchy was known in this Island, becomes evident by reflecting, that in all the Struggles they had with the Crown for Liberty; nay, even at the Time of the late Revolution, when every thing was thought of by the Patriots of those Days, for lessening the Royal Prerogative, so far as was judged necessary for, or consistent with the Preservation of our Constitution, I do not remember to have read or heard, that there was ever a Mention made of any Project of this Nature; and it is most certain, that if such a Project had been in Force 50 Years ago, our Business in this House would now have been rather to have registered the Edicts prescribed to us by the Army, than to have debated any thing that might affect a Body of Men made so formidable by their Independency.

* I would ask the Gentlemen, who are for this Proposition, one plain Question, Whether it be not absolutely necessary, that either the Military Power must be dependent on the Civil Power, or the Civil upon the Military? If from the Nature of Things one be necessary, the Option cannot be difficult to make. Surely, Gentlemen upon this Occasion, do not recollect the Fate of their Predecessors in the Middle of the last Century, when the Parliament, by granting such Concessions to the Army, made the Army soon hold them in Contempt, who had thus made the Military Power independent of the Civil Magistrate; I say, I must take it for granted, that this Part of our History is intirely forgot, when I see a Question moved in this House, tending to

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give the Army that Independency of the State, which has formerly made, and in Process of Time, must again make Parliaments useless; for I look upon Mankind in general as pretty near upon a Level, in all Ages, very strong Temptations will too often get the better of the very best Intention, and like Causes will always produce like Effects.

‘ In my Opinion, the great Danger to be guard’d against in all Armies is, any Step that tends to raise them to a State of Independency; and therefore by the Wisdom of the Legislature, our Army is so wisely constituted, as not only to be dependent on the annual Votes of this House for its Subsistence and Continuance, but also as to the Number it shall consist of; then as to the Nomination of the Officers, it has always been lodged in the Crown, as ’tis highly proper it should, they have always been left dependent on the King, whose Person they are obliged to defend, whose Government they are intended to support.

‘ Thus is our Army necessarily dependent in a double Capacity, the Whole is dependent on this House for its very Existence, which may be put an End to whenever any Danger comes to be apprehended from it; but the Officers, while the Army exists, are to depend on the King for their Commissions, otherwise how could he depend on their Fidelity or Behaviour, should they be called forth to Action; for an Officer may be guilty of several Crimes which cannot be properly laid before a Court-Martial, particularly Disaffection, of which, tho’ there be Proof sufficient to make it indisputable, yet the Proof may be of such a Nature, as not to be proper to be laid before a Court Martial, or perhaps cannot be laid in such a Manner, as to make it have its just Weight with Officers sitting in Judgment on one of their own Fraternity.

‘ Tho’, therefore, in this Respect, our Army, as it receives its annual Support and Existence from the Parliament, may be call’d a State-Army, a Denomination an honourable Gentleman has much insisted on, yet, I think, the Conclusions he has drawn from thence are very ill grounded; for a State-Army, as such, does not in the least imply a Necessity of the Officers holding their Employments for Life; on the contrary, it seems necessary in all Armies, they should be subordinate to some other Power, that they may not defeat the Purpose for which they are maintained; for if they should be thus made dependent only on themselves, and independent of the three other Powers of the Legislature, it will, in my Opinion, be laying the Foundation of a fourth Power, a Military one, which may, in Process of Time, render useless the other three.

‘ This

‘ This leads me to consider, in whom the Advocates for this Question propose to lodge this Power, this important Branch of the Prerogative, which is to be lopp’d off from the Crown, if this Military Scheme succeeds: As the Prerogative of the Crown is to be diminished, one would naturally imagine the Power of the People was intended to be increased; but this is not to be the Case, it is to be transferred from the Crown, not to the People, but to the Army, and lodged solely with the Officers themselves, who, from that Moment, will be independent of the Crown, and in Time, perhaps, of all other Authority; for one of the great Restraints upon the Army is this very Prerogative, which the King has of displacing Officers who may be suspected of bad Intentions: Give this Privilege to the Officers themselves only, and what Security shall we then have for their future Behaviour? In short, we shall then have raised a Power in Support of the present Establishment, without having provided a Security against its attempting to overturn that very Establishment; for thus, by removing this necessary Check upon the Army, a distant Time may come, when the Nation, with Reason, may be jealous of an Army, in whose Hands we shall have put a Power sufficient to enable them to get the better both of King and Parliament, and to set up a new Constitution of their own; whereas, while the Army continues in the State it is at present, there is little Danger to be apprehended from it, even should it have the Rashness to attempt any Thing against either.

‘ It has been urged by an honourable Gentleman under the Gallery, that, as the Judges hold their Employments for Life, we ought to convey the same Privileges to the Officers of the Army: In my Opinion, this is Reasoning upon a very wrong Foundation, for, I think, no just Parallel can be drawn betwixt Civil and Military Officers in general, but certainly there is the widest Difference between those who act in a Judicial, and those who act in a Military Capacity; for the same State of Independence necessary to leave the Judge unbiassed in pronouncing Judgment, would tend to disengage the Soldier from that Interest, to which he ought solely, and in Contradistinction to all others, to be thoroughly attached: A Judge should be left free and unbiassed, that he may speak what the Law speaks, and distribute Justice impartially to all Parties; but the very Nature of the Army requires the strictest Subordination in the Officers, without which there can be no Discipline; the Soldier must be dependant, and must act in Subjection to the

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the lawful Commands of those, by whom he is maintain'd; nor can any Qualification make amends for his Failure in this Particular.

* There is besides a particular Circumstance, which makes it impossible to draw any just Parallel between the Judges and the Officers of the Army; the Judges not only determine between Subject and Subject, but they are likewise to determine between the Crown and the People; if any Question arises between the King and a Subject, they are to determine the Point in dispute, and therefore it is necessary that they should be made as independent as possible upon either of the Parties; but no such Power was ever yet lodged in the Officers of the Army, and it is to be hoped never will; for tho' I have so great an Opinion of the Gentlemen who are at present in the Service, that I think any Power may be safely lodged in their Hands, yet, I believe, they neither desire such a Power, nor would they consent to the giving of any such to their Successors.

* But the Proposition now made to us would render the Officers of the Army still more independent, both upon our King and Government, than the Judges are at present: If a Judge be guilty of any Crime, or of any Neglect of Duty in the Execution of his Office, he is not to be try'd by the other Judges only, he is to be try'd by a Jury, he is to have an open and a fair Trial in Westminster-Hall, as the rest of his Fellow-Subjects have; and if it were otherwise, if a Judge for any Misbehaviour, were to be try'd in a private Way by his Brother-Judges only, I should think both our Lives, Liberties, and Properties in greater Danger from them under such a Regulation, than if they were still dependent on the Crown for the Continuance of their Commissions; and it must be granted, that this last would be the Case of the Officers of the Army, if this Proposition should take place; for they could be try'd by none, they could be punish'd by none but themselves, and consequently they would have no Dependence but upon one another; and without any Derogation to the Characters of those, who are now so worthily at the Head of the Law, or to those who command in the Army, I believe every Person will allow, that the Fear of Punishment, and the Hopes of Reward, are equally necessary to keep most Men to their Duty, and of course to make them useful to Society.

* As another Reason in Support of this Proposition, an honourable Gentleman has recommended the Wisdom of the Swedes to our Imitation, who, he says, have introduced
this

this very Regulation in their Army; but give me Leave to observe, in Answer to this, it is so very late a Practice among them, that they cannot yet be proper Judges, how far 'twill answer the Purpose for which 'twas introduced.

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1733-34.

' To be sure it is very commendable in those who have spoke for this Question; nay, it is the Duty every Man owes his Country, to observe the Methods of Government used in other States, and adopt that which is founded on Wisdom and true Policy into their own; but in all Attempts of this Kind, a strict Regard is to be had to the particular Turn of our own Constitution; for what may be a necessary Step in one State, may prove to be the Destruction of another; and therefore, most certainly, the bare Example of the Swedes ought not to influence us to take so extraordinary a Resolution, unless the Nature of our own Constitution would justify it: If Gentlemen reason only from the Example of the Swedes, they may with the same Justice plead for a farther Introduction of their Laws; and as all foreign Affairs are transacted by their Senate, they may on the same Account expect, that the Management of all our foreign Negotiations ought to be submitted solely to the Direction of this House; they may likewise pretend to transplant other Customs, prevalent in the Senate of Sweden, into our Parliament, which would quite alter the present Form of our Constitution, and introduce a new Species of Government into this Kingdom; for it is certain, that a King of Sweden has now hardly the Power of a Stadtholder of Holland, especially with Respect to the Officers of the Army; none of whom he can even create or promote, without the Consent of the Senate; their Government at present is, indeed, little more than a Commonwealth; so that few Things can be drawn from their Practice, as an Example fit for us to follow.

' Before I conclude, Sir, give me Leave to remind Gentlemen, that our Histories sufficiently teach us this Truth, that our Liberties and Constitution are never in greater Danger, than when any one of the Branches of our Legislature grasps at any Power or Authority, which hath, by the Wisdom of our Ancestors, been appropriated to another; and therefore, most certainly, an unwarrantable Attack upon the Prerogative of the Crown, which may, indeed, be intended to extend the Liberties of the People, is in Reality the readiest Way to bring them into Danger. I believe every impartial Person will acknowledge, that in our present happy Situation, we of this Nation enjoy as much
Liberty

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Liberty as is consistent with that Subjection which is necessary for the Support of all Governments; and the surest Way to continue this particular Blessing to ourselves, and to perpetuate it to our Posterity, is to rest satisfy'd with what we enjoy, and not to hazard what we already have, by aiming to extend the Liberties of the People to a Degree, perhaps, we ourselves may be the first Persons shall be sensible of the Inconveniencies of: All Experiments, therefore, of reforming the Constitution, must be hazardous, unless where the Event is clear and undisputed: Tampering with the Laws, where our Liberties are concern'd, hath often proved of dangerous Consequence; and whenever we come to new modelling the Constitution in any essential Point, unless where an apparent Necessity requires it, 'tis impossible to tell how far the Spirit of Reformation will proceed.

'I beg Pardon for taking up so much of your Time: As I once had the Honour to be in the Service, and under a Gentleman, whose good Nature and Affability must ever demand the Esteem of all that know him, [*Gen. Wade*] and who is as little desirous of grasping at an unreasonable Power, as he is capable of misapplying that he is already trusted with, I flatter myself, that during the Time I was under his Command, I learn'd a little what the Nature of an Army is; and had I still been in the Service, so far from retiring upon this Question, as has been recommended to those in the Service, if Gentlemen would divide upon it, which I shall not believe they intend doing, 'till I see it done; I say, had I still been in the Service, I should have been equally strenuous against the Question; as it has always been my Opinion, that the surest way to depend on any Set of Men for their acting right, is not to give them an unnecessary Power or Temptation to do wrong.

'For these Reasons I think myself obliged to use my Endeavours, that neither this, nor any other Proposition of the like Nature, however popular they may at this or any other Time appear, shall ever meet with Encouragement from this House.'

Mr Winington.

Sir Thomas Robinson having done speaking, Mr Winington stood up, and spoke against the Motion thus:

Sir,

'I cannot let this Question go, without declaring my Abhorrence to the Motion that has been made to us: I really think it is the most monstrous Motion I ever heard made, since I had the Honour to sit in Parliament. Gentlemen say, an Army is no Part of our Constitution; but if the Proposition

position they have made should take Place, the whole of our Constitution would soon be at the Mercy of our Army. At present, the Officers of the Army depend upon the King for their Commissions, and the Army itself depends upon the Parliament for its Continuance, and for its Pay ; but if you should once make the Officers of the Army independent of the Crown, if you should once give them a Sort of Freehold in their Commissions, they would soon make both King and Parliament depend upon them. If both King and Parliament should join in Opinion, and think it proper to make a Reduction of any Part of our Army, do you imagine that these Gentlemen, with their Swords in their Hands, would quietly lay them down, and retire to their respective Homes at our Desire ? No, they would then tell you, our Commissions are for Life, they are our Freehold, a Law of your own making has made them so, and you shall not take them from us, unless we have been guilty of a Crime ; if we have done any Wrong, let a Court Martial be called, let us be tried in that Way which is by Law prescribed, and if we be found guilty, we will submit. This we may reasonably suppose would be the Language of those you had a mind to reduce, and in such a Case Gentlemen may easily guess what Redress the Nation could expect from a Court Martial.

‘ The Liberties of Rome were never destroyed, ’till their Army was made an Army for Life ; and even this Country lost its Liberty by an Army : As soon as an Army was raised, and made independent of the Sovereign Power, they overturned the whole of our Constitution ; they pulled a Predecessor of yours out of the Chair ; and kick’d the Members out of Doors ; and shall we establish such another Army ? The Proposition is surprizing. I would rather lie under any Imputation, than that of having made such a one to this House : I am sure it is very far from appearing to the noble Lord, who made it, in the same Light it does to me : I have, I think, a just Opinion of it ; but if he had judged so, I am very well convinced he would never have offered it to this House. However since the Proposition has been made, and as every Gentleman is at Liberty to treat any Proposition according to that Light in which it appears to him, I must say, that I look upon the Motion as monstrous, absurd, and slavish, and therefore I am heartily against it.

* If I have spoke with too much Warmth, I beg Pardon : I hope it will be ascribed to my Zeal for our Constitution, and the present happy Establishment ; and not to

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Sir J. H. Bruce.

any Want of Respect for the Gentlemen, who seem to favour a Proposition, which appears to me in a Light so very different from that in which, I believe, it appears to them.

To this Speech of Mr Winnington's Sir John Hope Bruce, reply'd as follows :

Sir,

' The honourable Gentleman over the way, I must say, has spoke with a great deal of more Warmth than Decency, and has treated the Soldiery, both antient and modern, in a Manner which I think both scandalous and unjust. That Gentleman spoke of the Roman Liberty, and pretended that the Loss of it was owing to their Army's being made an Army for Life : I can remember nothing, Sir, of an Army for Life at Rome : I do not remember that they ever had any such Regulation in their Armies even as this now proposed, which is very far from establishing an Army for Life : On the contrary, if they had had any such Regulation, I believe it would not have been in the Power of their Generals, or Emperors, to have modelled and garbled their Armies, so as to make them serve those vile Purposes, which they were made to serve.

' If the Gentleman will please to read over the Roman History with Attention, he will find, that the Loss of the Roman Liberty was, at first, more owing to Bribery and Corruption in their Elections, and in their Senate; than to their Army : It was by this Bribery and Corruption that all publick Virtue was destroyed in that Country ; and when the Virtue of the Army, as well as the People, was destroyed, it became an easy Matter to make Tools of both, for the Support of arbitrary Power.

' I have had the Honour to serve in our own Army : I have likewise, Sir, served in foreign Armies, and I think I know a little of the Nature of both : From thence it is that I judge, that no Army will allow themselves to be turned against the Liberties of their Country, unless it be left in the Power of some ambitious Man to model them, so as to make them fit for his own wicked Purposes : It was this that made our Army, in the last Century, turn against the Parliament which had raised them ; and the Army will always be dangerous, as long as any such Power is lodged in any one Man.

' I have the Honour, Sir, to be acquainted with many of the General Officers, as well as other Officers, in our own Army at present ; I know their Worth and their Merit, and I shall never fear any thing from an Army under their

their Command and Direction : But if what has been once attempted should ever be attempted again, if our Army should be garbled, the Gentlemen who are now in Command turned out, and Fellows of mean Birth, or perhaps foreign Officers, put into their Places, we should have every thing to fear from such an Army, even though the Generality of the common Soldiers should continue to be made up of our own Countrymen.

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‘ Upon this Occasion I cannot but take Notice, Sir, of what I read the other Day in a very judicious Author, who upon this very Subject says, ‘ That any Minister who ‘ advises the King to dismiss a good Officer, who has long ‘ and faithfully served his King and Country, is guilty ‘ of the greatest and blackest Act of Treason against his ‘ Prince;’ and therefore, Sir, to prevent as much as possible the committing of any such Treason in time to come, I shall be for agreeing to the Proposition now before us.’

Mr Hugh Williams spoke next against the Motion, and after him General Wade stood up, and spoke as follows.

Mr H. Williams.

General Wade.

Sir,

‘ The Gentlemen of the Army are certainly very much obliged to the noble Lord, who made this Proposition ; and I doubt not but every one of us would be for it, if we thought it were consistent with the Good of our Country. For as it is natural for all Men to desire to be independent, it is not to be doubted, but that the Officers of the Army desire it as much as any other Set of Men ; but whether it may not be of dangerous Consequence to make so great an Alteration in our Constitution, is what principally weighs with me ; and for my own Part, I shall always give up any private Advantage I may expect, rather than agree to any Measure, which may in the least endanger or hurt the Constitution, or the publick Interest of my Country.

‘ Since I have had the Honour, Sir, to sit in this House, I can say, that I have always acted with the same Freedom, as if I had no Commission, nor any Concern in the Army ; and though I have generally joined in Opinion with those who were in the Administration, yet I have likewise upon many Occasions differed from them.

‘ I remember that when the famous South-Sea-Scheme was in Agitation in this House, though it was brought in by a Minister, and strongly supported by those who were then at the Head of the Administration, yet I had the Honour to be one of the 55 who divided against it. It is true, Sir, I had upon that Occasion Messages sent to me,

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and was threatned to be stripped of all my military Employments, but those Threats had no Weight with me; nor shall such Threats ever have any Weight with me in any Case where they come in Competition with my Duty as a Member of this House, with my Duty as an Officer of the Army, or with my Duty as a Subject of Great Britain: And, I hope, that this is the Resolution of every Man, who has the Honour to bear a Commission in the Army.'

'Gentlemen talk of Courts Martial, and of his Majesty's having the Power to name the Officers who are to be upon them: His Majesty has indeed the Power of granting Warrants for the holding of Courts Martial, as often, and in such Places as he shall please to appoint; I have myself a Warrant from his Majesty for holding Courts Martial in North Britain, where I have the Honour at present to command: But I never did, nor does his Majesty, ever name the Officers who are to be upon such Courts Martial. That Service being performed by a Roll, as other Parts of Duty are, I have often very great Difficulty to get a sufficient Number of Officers for holding those Courts Martial; for sometimes six or seven Captains, besides Subalterns, will be absent at one Time; and it is hardly possible now, in Time of Peace, to get them to attend their Duty, notwithstanding the great Power the Crown has over them: Since then they are at present so negligent of their Duty, would they not be much more so, if they could not be dismissed for Neglect of Duty, but by a Sentence of a Court Martial? If any of those Officers should be brought to be tried for Neglect of Duty, or any other such Crime, by a Court Martial, the Majority of which might perhaps consist of Officers, who had themselves been guilty of the same Fault, can Gentlemen imagine, that in such a Case any Officer would be broke, or any Way punished by a Sentence of that Court Martial?

'In short, Sir, the Discipline of our Army is already in a very bad Way, and I am afraid, if this Proposition should take Place, it would be intirely destroyed; for if this Proposition should pass into a Law, it would not only take away all Dependency upon the Crown, but it would destroy that Subordination of inferior Officers to their Superiors, which is absolutely necessary to be strictly kept up in all Armies; and without which, an Army would soon become an unruly Mob, instead of being a regular, and a well-disciplined Army; therefore, Sir, I cannot but be against the Proposition.'

Then

Mr. Erle spoke next,

Sir,

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1733-34.

Mr Erle.

* As this Proposition must certainly tend to the Establishment of an Army, with too great and too independent a Power in itself, I must think it extremely improper; and I must think that the honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, has very well and very justly observed, that it would destroy all Discipline in the Army, and would, I believe, introduce a general Licentiousness among the Officers: for there are many Irregularities an Officer may be guilty of, which could not well be brought before a Court Martial; and if they were, the Irregularity might be so general, that it would be hard to get such a Court Martial as would punish the Officer for a Crime, which perhaps every one of themselves might be guilty of. It is well known how many Complaints there are already, both against Officers and Soldiers, for Irregularities committed in their Quarters; even with all the Power which his Majesty now has over the Army, it is very hard for those to whom he entrusts the chief Care and Management of his Army, to keep the Officers and Soldiers to their Duty, and to prevent their being now and then guilty of some little Acts of Oppression in their Quarters; but if the Proposition now made should pass into a Law, it would render the Quartering of Soldiers most grievous to the People; one Officer would say, I have made my Quarters good, as they call it, another would do the same; this would encourage a third, a fourth, and so on, 'till the Practice became general; and if they were to be tryed and punished for this only by a Court Martial, can Gentlemen imagine, that they would not acquit one another? 'Tis true, Officers may have been removed without being guilty of any Crime; I was myself once removed, when I am sure they could not lay any Crime to my Charge; I was then sorry for it, but I was not for carrying my Repentment so far as on that Account to turn every thing topsy-turvy; yet there was at that Time more Ground for such a Proposition than there is at present; there has been no garbling or removing of any considerable Number of Officers, and therefore I cannot find out what could give Occasion for this Motion at this Time. Was not the great Duke of Marlborough, in the Midst of his glorious Success, removed from all Command in the Army? I believe no Man will accuse him of having ever been guilty of a Crime, or even of a Neglect of his Duty: Was not the Man who was put in his Place justly suspected of having Designs against the present happy Establishment? nay, so justly was he suspected, that when the late King came over he durst not stand his Tryal, but took Guilt upon himself, and fled from the Justice of the Nation; Yet upon

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1733-34.

that Occasion, there was no such Proposition as this made in Parliament. I cannot, with the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, think, that the Officers of the Army are much obliged to those Gentlemen who appear in Favour of this Proposition; on the contrary, I think, that it is entertaining a very bad Opinion at least of those Officers, who have the Honour of sitting in this House, to imagine, that they do not act with the same Integrity and Freedom that other Gentlemen do; I am sure I should not think, that any Man entertained a good Opinion of me, if he thought that I could be induced, either by Threats or Rewards, to act contrary to my Duty in this House. There is not the least Ground for suspecting any such Thing of any Gentleman of the Army who sits in this House, and therefore, I am not only against the Motion, but I hope that it will be treated in such a Manner as may prevent its being ever renewed in this House.

Mr Pulteney.

To this Mr. Pulteney reply'd ;
Sir,

I cannot but observe the unhandsome Manner, in which some Gentlemen have treated the Motion now in your Hand, and the hard Names they have given it, such as monstrous, absurd, slavish, and the like: I am sure, neither the noble Lord who made the Motion, nor any of those Gentlemen who have spoke in Support of it, can, from their Conduct in this House, or in any other Part of Life, from the Families they are come of, or the large Properties they possess, be the least suspected of entertaining any Notions of Slavery, or of making any Motion in this House for destroying any Part, far less for undermining the whole of our Constitution: I will avoid retorting those Names, or saying any Thing that may give Offence, tho' I am sure I may do it with far more Justice upon those Gentlemen, who have taken that Liberty with others. The honourable Gentleman behind me spoke of Officers making their Quarters good, which is a military Term I really do not understand; but I suppose it is doing something they ought not to do, and yet something, as that Gentleman seemed to insinuate, which they are so apt to do, that there is no preventing it without keeping them in a slavish Sort of Dependency. He told us, that he was himself once removed, and that he was very sorry for it: He was, 'tis true, once removed, and that he was sorry for it, I believe, no body will doubt; but I hope it was not for making his Quarters good; for tho' the Gentleman likes good Quarters, and knows as well when he is in such as any Man, yet I am convinced, that he is incapable of doing any Thing wrong, either for obtaining Quarters, or for making them good: He likewise told us of the Duke of

of Marlborough's having been removed; I believe no Man will say it was a right Step to remove that great General, but it has no Relation to the Question now before us; because, if I understood the noble Lord's Motion right, the Power of removing Generals from their Command, as Generals in the Army, is to remain in the Crown, as much unlimited as ever it was before; and it must be granted, that the Removal of that great Man, and the many Removals that followed, if they have any Relation to the present Question, are strong Arguments in its Favour; for, I believe, every Man who wished well to the Constitution, would have wished that such a Law had been in being at that Time; and indeed all the other Arguments I have heard against the Proposition, if I may be allow'd to call them so, are much stronger for it than against it.

Gentlemen talk of invading the Prerogative, as if it were a most heinous Thing, to lessen, in any Respect, what they call the Prerogative; but this has been already answered by a worthy Gentleman; he justly said, that the Prerogative has been growing ever since the Revolution, and it is certain that it is daily gaining Ground both in this House and the other. The Power of the Crown, every Member of this House, as well as the other, ought always to be jealous of; for what by Creations and Translations, it may at last grow so great, as entirely to overturn that Ballance upon which our Constitution depends. The Prerogative now in Dispute, is a Prerogative of very short Standing; even the Prerogative, as to the Militia, mentioned by an honourable Gentleman, has been assumed but of late Years; and tho' the Power of the King, as to the Militia, be very fully and explicitly declared in the two Acts that Gentleman was pleased to read to us, yet I hope, that neither he, nor his Friends, will recommend all the Proceedings of the Parliament in which those Acts passed, as proper Patterns for us to imitate; nor will he desire, that we should approve of every Thing that was done at that Time in Parliament; Besides, there is a very great Difference between the Officers of a Standing Army, and those of the Militia; the first is both an honourable and a beneficial Employment, the last is become of late Years not very honourable, and I am very sure it cannot by Law be made a beneficial Employment; so that the arbitrary Disposal of Commissions in the Army, may be of much more fatal Consequence to our Constitution, than the arbitrary Disposal of Commissions in the Militia. Gentlemen have asked us, Will you make the Officers of the Army Independent? Will you give them their Commissions in the Nature of a Freehold? No, by the Proposition now made to us, they are to depend upon the King

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and Parliament as much as ever they did before upon the King singly: His Majesty is still to have the Power of preferring them entirely lodged in him, and his Majesty, with the Assistance of either House of Parliament, is still to have the Power of removing any one, or any Number of them, without any Reason or Cause assigned: This is very far from making them independent; but suppose they were to be made independent both of King and Parliament, has the Parliament and People, supported by the King, more to dread from such an Army, than the Parliament and People have to dread from an ambitious King, supported by an Army made, by this Power of removing and preferring, entirely dependent upon himself alone? An Officer, who depends upon nothing but the Laws of his Country, is engaged in Interest, as well as Honour, to support those Laws as the Tenure by which he holds his Commission; but an Officer who depends entirely upon the absolute Will of one Man, be he King, or be he chief General, is a Tenant at Will, and is in Interest, at least, engaged to submit to the Will of his Lord in every Thing: It was this that made the Army so pernicious about the Middle of the last Century; they had become entirely dependent upon their General, and then their General made what Use of them he had a Mind; and it was a Neglect of this Maxim, which saved our Constitution towards the End of the same Century, because our King then began to break through the Constitution, before he had taken Care to make the Army entirely dependent upon himself alone: If that King had taken Care of the last before he had attempted the first, the Nation would now have been groaning under Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power; it was a most remarkable Fatality in the Counsels of our Oppressors, that saved the Nation at that Time; but if we do not, by our own Wisdom and our own Conduct, prevent it for the Future, we deserve the most heavy Chains that were ever laid upon any People.

It is not intended, by the Proposition, to give the Officers a Freehold in their Commissions; but if it were, can it be said, it would be unjust? Have not many of them purchased their Commissions at a very high Price; perhaps with the whole of what they had in the World? And would it not be the Height of Injustice, that such Gentlemen should be turned a-drift, at the Pleasure of a Minister of State? Have not many of them bought their Commissions by long Services, much Blood-shed; and many Wounds? Is not this a Purchase much more honourable, than that of giving a few Guineas for a Piece of Land? And must the Officer be turned out of his only Subsistence to please a peevish Minister, whilst the Land-Purchaser, who perhaps robb'd his Coun-

try in order to purchase that Land, is protected by the Laws of his Country in the Possession of his ill-gotten Purchase? Is this Justice? Or is it a shewing of that Respect which is due to those who have boldly and faithfully served their Country? But there is this farther Hardship, the Officer who is turned out, not only loses his Bread, but his Honour may suffer into the Bargain; for if it is not very publickly known for what he was turned out, the malicious World may be apt to suspect, that he was discarded for some very heinous and dishonourable Crime. Some Gentlemen have already taken Notice, that there are a great many Officers of the Army who have now Seats in Parliament, and while they are allowed to sit in this, or in either House of Parliament, it is certainly to be wished, that they were put upon the same independent Footing with other Gentlemen: I do not in the least suspect the Virtue of those who at present have Seats in either House of Parliament: Their Virtue is, I find, what those who oppose the present Question would gladly lug into the Debate: But as neither their Virtue nor Honour has any Thing to do in the Question, I may freely say, that when Gentlemen either now, or hereafter, have their Whole at Stake, and see by the Example of others, the Danger of pretending to contradict an insolent Minister in any of the most wicked of his Measures, it is putting their Virtue to too great a Trial; it is more than human Frailty can well support; and I am sure he must be very little acquainted with the Nature of Mankind, who thinks that the Constitution, and the Happiness of his Country, may safely depend upon the Event of such a Trial. The honourable Gentleman over the Way, who is in the Army, and who I am sure, has acted with as much Honour in this House as any Gentleman in it, has given us an unanswerable Argument in Favour of the Proposition now before us: He has told us, that when he opposed a Scheme, which he thought a pernicious Scheme, and which afterwards most effectually proved so, he was sent to and threatened with the Loss of all his Employments in the Army, because that Scheme was brought in and supported by a Minister: He had, 'tis true, Virtue to withstand those Threats; but it cannot be supposed that every Man has the same Virtue; and what he has now told us is an evident Demonstration, that this pretended Prerogative of removing Officers at Pleasure, may by a Minister be made use of to obtain the Approbation of Parliament to the most destructive Schemes he can invent.

* We know that the late King William was once applied to by some of his Ministers, to remove an Officer of his Army, because of a Vote he had given in this House: But that

Prince,

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Prince, like a great and a wise King, answered, ' I suppose the Gentleman voted according to what appeared just and right to him at that Time; I know him to be a brave and a good Officer, and one who has always done his Duty in his military Capacity; I have nothing to do with his Behaviour in Parliament, and therefore I will not remove him from his Command in the Army.' His late Majesty was so sensible of the Necessity of what is now proposed, that he approved of a Bill of this very Nature; the Bill was actually drawn up, and was to have been brought into the other House by the late Earl Stanhope: This I know to be true, I do not know how it was prevented, but I know that his late Majesty cheerfully gave his Consent for the bringing it into Parliament.

' The honourable Gentleman who spoke last said, that those Gentlemen who are for the present Question used the Officers ill, but I leave it to the impartial World, I leave it to the Officers themselves, to judge which Side uses them worst: Those who say they ought to be secured against the Resentment of a tyrannical Minister, or those who tell us, you are to expect no Justice from Officers sitting in a Court Martial, notwithstanding their being sworn to do the same Justice, and to try with the same Impartiality, that Judges and Juries ought, and are supposed to do: You are not to trust to Officers, they will certainly combine together, and destroy your Constitution; there is nothing can keep 'em honest or faithful to their Country, but keeping them in a slavish Dependence upon the Crown. Has not this been the whole Language of those, who have hitherto opposed this Question? And I do not doubt but the Officers of the Army will judge of the Argument as they ought to do. I have spoke much earlier in this Debate than I intended, and I must say, that I had but very little Room from any Thing that has been said against the Proposition, to have taken up so much of your Time; but I find some Gentlemen do not incline to speak to the Question; however, if they do not, if no better Reasons be given against it than what have been already given, I am persuaded the Fate of the Question must be very different from what they expect.'

Mr H. Pelham.

Mr. Henry Pelham spoke next as follows;

Sir,

' I have attended closely to what has been said both for and against the Proposition now before us, and I think the Debate is now reduced to this single Point, Whether, by what is now proposed, our Constitution may be mended and made better, or whether it may not rather tend to hurt and injure our Constitution? The latter, is my Opinion, and I am convinced it appears in the same Light to every one of the Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, who before me have spoken against the Motion. I do not approve of hard Names, or any Names that are indecent, to this or any other Proposition made in this House; but as those Liberties have often been taken, by the Gentlemen who now find Fault with what has been said, it may be supposed that other Gentlemen think they have the same Liberty, and may retort those Names, when they think the Proposition deserves them; however upon all such Occasions, at least upon the present, nothing is meant personally against any of the Gentlemen who have spoken in Favour of the Proposition. Gentlemen have said, that the Prerogative is a growing Part of our Constitution; but I cannot really see wherein the Prerogative of the Crown is greater now, than at any Time since the Revolution; nor can I see what should give this Alarm, or what should make it necessary now to clip and pare the Prerogative of the Crown, unless Gentlemen have some Scheme for greatly, or perhaps totally altering our Constitution; and if they have, I am sure they can shew us no Manner of Reason for our attempting at present to make any such dangerous Experiment. Suppose his Majesty has thought fit to remove one or two Gentlemen from their Employments in the Army, can that be looked on, as a sufficient Reason from taking from his Majesty that Power he and his Predecessors have always enjoy'd? The very Attempting such a thing looks as if Gentlemen thought some very wrong and wicked Use, has been lately made of that Part of the Prerogative, which, in the present Case, they have not the least Ground for. The Worth and Honour of the two noble Persons who have been removed, must be acknowledged by all; but, worthy as they are, it must certainly be granted, that they have been succeeded by two Gentlemen of equal Worth; and sure this cannot be called garbling, or modelling the Army; for the Army can never be said to be garbled or modelled, but when the most worthy and honourable are dismissed, and Creatures of mean Birth, or of no Worth, put into their Places. It is true, there were a great many Officers removed at the Time that the Duke of Marlborough was removed, and without the Power of removing the inferior Officers, they had not perhaps ventured to have removed that great General from his Command. Such a Law, as now proposed, might have been of some Service at that Time, but it would have been of bad Consequence soon after. We know what were thought to be the Views and Designs, when the Duke of Marlborough was removed; we know, that he was succeeded by a Person, whom I did indeed esteem for his personal Qualifications, but his political Views had, at that Time, very near ruined our Constitution, and have since

upon

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upon some Occasions greatly endangered it; and if none of the Officers of the Army, who were upon that Occasion put in or continued in Commission, could have been removed but by the Sentence of a Court Martial, I doubt much, if this House had been now sitting to give their Opinion upon this or any other Question.

* An honourable Gentleman on the Floor, who spoke some Time ago, happened to drop some Expressions, which I am sure were owing to his Warmth; he spoke of Foreign Officers, and insinuated as if they might happen to be put into the Places of those, who may hereafter be removed. Every Gentleman surely knows, that this would be directly contrary to Law; and no Man can say, that there has been any Thing done or attempted, that can give the least Ground for apprehending any such Thing in Time to come: It was indeed an indecent and an ugly Insinuation; I wish the Gentleman had spared it; but as I am convinced that it was entirely owing to Warmth, I shall take no farther Notice of it. I did really think it unnecessary to have given you any Trouble in this Debate, since other Gentlemen before me have given sufficient Reasons for not agreeing to this Motion, and have answered every Thing said in Favour of it; but the honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, seemed so mighty desirous, that Gentlemen would speak against what he and his Friends seem to be for, that I rose up rather to gratify him, than that I thought any Thing necessary to be added to what had before been said against this Proposition; and therefore I shall take up no more of your Time, but leave the Proposition to stand or fall by its own Merits.

Then Sir William Wyndham stood up and said,

Sir,

Sir W. Wyndham.

* The Gentlemen, who have been pleased to speak against this Proposition, have all of them asserted, that, should it take place, it would alter the very Being of our Constitution; from whence we must conclude, that these Gentlemen think, that the very Being of our Constitution consists, not only in having a Standing Army, but it consists also in having that Army absolutely and entirely dependent on the Crown; which is an Opinion so directly contrary to that which every Man ought to have about our Constitution, that I am sorry to hear of its being entertained by any Gentleman, who has the Honour of being a Member of this House. I wish those Gentlemen would consider a little better the Nature and the Being of our Constitution, and the many Alterations that have from Time to Time crept into it; if they do they will find no greater Novelty, nor can they find one more dangerous, than that of a Standing Army. It is not as yet, I hope, a Part of our Constitution, and therefore,

fore, what is now proposed cannot be an Alteration of our Constitution; it is indeed so far otherwise, that the very Design of it is to prevent our Constitution's being altered, by a Standing Army's being hereafter made a Part of it; or at least to make that Army less dangerous, in case it should become absolutely necessary for us always to keep up a Standing Army. We have likewise been told, that the Prerogative is a Part of our Constitution, and the lessening the Power of the Crown, or robbing the Crown of its Prerogative, as Gentlemen have been pleased to call it, is an Alteration of our Constitution. For my own Part, I have no Notion of any legal Power or Prerogative, but what is for the Benefit of the Community; nor do I think, that any Power can be legal, but what is originally derived from the Community; and it is certain, that all the Power that is, or can be given by the People, must be given for their own Protection and Defence: Therefore, if the People should afterwards find that they have given too much, if they should begin to foresee, that the Power they have given may come to be of dangerous Consequence to themselves; have not they Reason, have not they a Right, to take back what Part of it they think necessary for their own Safety? This is the proper Footing, upon which the present Debate ought to be put; and taking it upon this Footing, suppose, that this Power of removing the Officers of the Army were a Part of the ancient Prerogative of the Crown; if the Parliament should foresee, that this Power might be made a bad Use of; that it might easily be turned towards enslaving the People, would not the People have a Right to take it from the Crown? would it not be their Duty to do so? nay, ought not the Crown willingly and freely to give it up?

Gentlemen have next endeavoured to frighten us with the Effects of this Proposition, should it be passed into a Law: They say we should soon see what such an Independence in the Army would turn to; but, for God's Sake, is not the Army to be still as much dependent upon King and Parliament, as ever they were before? If it should be but suspected, that any Officer, or any Number of Officers, were going to attempt any Thing against King and Parliament, could not the King immediately suspend them, or even put them under Arrest? and could not the Parliament, as soon as they met, address his Majesty to remove them? Upon this Occasion, I shall beg Leave to state the Difference of the two Cases: In the one Case, an Army entirely dependent on the Crown, so much at the Mercy of the Crown, that, let the Merit of those Gentlemen in their military Capacity be never so great; let their Fidelity to their King and Country be never so conspicuous; let their past Services

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be never so meritorious ; yet, if they do not implicitly obey all the Orders they shall receive from the Crown, or rather from the favourite Minister of the Crown ; if they do not submit to propagate the most slavish Schemes of a projecting Minister, they may probably be turned out of their Employments in the Army ; and thus, after having wore out their Youth and Vigour in the Service of their Country, they may at last, and in their Old Age, be turned adrift, and reduced to a starving Condition. In the other Case, an Army under no such servile Dependence, having no Reason to doubt of Preferment according to their Merit, and certain they could not be turned out of the Places they have purchased by their long Services, without being guilty of some Crime, or of dishonourable Behaviour ; and having the Constitution, and the Laws of their Country, as a Security for their enjoying all those Advantages as long as they live ; is it not, an easy Matter to determine, in which of these Cases an Army may be of most Danger, or of most Service, to the Constitution of this Country.

* I will allow all that has been said about the Virtue of those, who are at present the Officers of our Army ; about their being Englishmen, and every Thing else, that has been said, or can be said, in Favour of the Characters of those Gentlemen ; but still they are Men, and every Body knows, that those who have a Dependence, perhaps for the whole they have in the World, must be something more than Men, if they act with the same Freedom, that they would do if they were under no such Influence or Dependence : It is certain ; I hope the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question, even those Gentlemen who now stand up so zealously for the Prerogative, will grant, that ours is a limited Monarchy : Our Constitution depends upon its not being in the Power of the Crown, to break thro' those Limits which are prescribed by Law, or to manage so as to render them quite ineffectual ; for when either of these comes to be the Case, our Constitution will be at an End ; the Monarchy can no longer be said to be limited, any more than a Man can be said to be, under any Restraint, who, tho' lock'd up in a Room, has the Keys in his Pocket, and may open the Doors when he pleases, or has proper Materials at hand, and may break the Doors open, and walk out whenever he has a Mind. We are therefore never to give a Power to the Crown ; we ought not to leave the Crown in the Possession of a Power, which may enable any future King to shake off all those Limitations, which the Royal Power ought by our Constitution to be subject to : And in this View I leave it to every Gentleman to consider, whether a Standing Army, under the present Circumstances, or under the Regulations

now proposed, does portend most Danger to our Constitution? For my own Part, I think the Case so plain, I think the Dangers pretended, from what is now proposed, so chimerical, that I am surprized to hear the Motion opposed by any Gentleman, who pretends to have the Liberties, or the Happiness of his Country truly at Heart.

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* But in particular, I must at present observe, that if no Notice should be taken of what has lately happened; if no such Provision, as is intended by the Bill now moved for, should be made, and we should enter into a War, as is now likely we may be obliged to do, what Encouragement can young Gentlemen of noble and ancient Families have to go into the Army; when they consider, that after having often ventured their Lives in the Service of their Country, after having honourably acquired some Preferment in the Army, and afterwards, by a natural and Family-Interest, are come to have Seats in Parliament, they must then be obliged to forfeit all those Preferments they have so honourably acquired, or otherwise to make themselves Prostitutes to an infamous and wicked Administration? After this melancholy Consideration, can it be presumed, that any Gentleman of Honour will engage with that Alacrity in the Army, as he would do, if he were assured of preserving and enjoying whatever Posts he may have in the Army, with the same Honour and Integrity, with which he acquired them? This makes it more particularly necessary at present to agree to the Proposition now made to us; and as I think it makes no Encroachment upon our Constitution, but is, upon the contrary, a very necessary Amendment; as I think it for the Honour of Parliament, and no way inconsistent with the Honour or Safety of the Crown, I shall therefore most heartily agree to it.

Sir William Yonge spoke next;

Sir W. Yonge.

Sir,

* It is said, I remember, in a printed Paper which I read lately, that the Revolution had not brought our Constitution to that Perfection which it ought to have done; but that some Amendments were still wanting, and seemed to be absolutely necessary. I was indeed at some Loss to think what the Amendments could possibly be, which those reforming Genius's pointed at, but now the Secret is in some part out; for the Proposition now in Debate I verily believe to be one of those necessary Amendments they thought of; but the Gentlemen, who have spoke before me, have sufficiently proved, that this Amendment would be so far from improving our Constitution, or rendering it more secure, that it would in a great Measure entirely destroy it: And if the other Amendments, their Wisdoms have projected, be

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of the same Nature with this, I am afraid the People of England will not think themselves much obliged to them, for projecting such Amendments. We know, that the People of this Nation have generally been divided into Parties, and that Party which I have always been proud to reckon myself one of, has generally, tho' very wrongfully, been called the Republican Party; but if I, or any other Gentleman in this House, who has the Honour of being reputed a Whigg, should come into this Proposition, we should justly deserve that Name, which those of another Party have always given us by way of Reproach; for it is certain, that, if this Proposition should take Place, our chief Magistrate could not properly be called a King; he would not have so much Power left him, as the Stadtholder of the Republick of Holland has always enjoyed. The honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, insisted much upon the Danger of an Army depending upon the Crown, and talked of turning Officers adrift, and reducing them to a starving Condition; but let us consult our Histories, and see whether an Army depending upon the Crown, or one depending upon the Parliament, has done most Harm to our Constitution; We shall there see, that an Army of the latter Kind was so far from improving, or doing Good to our Constitution, that they very quickly overturned it; they soon brought the King from the Throne to the Scaffold; they turned both Lords and Commons out of Doors, and then set up a most arbitrary Government of their own: Whereas an Army of the first Kind has often preserved the Constitution; an Army much more dependent upon the Crown, than our Army is at present, was, we know, so far from supporting the Crown in Attempts against the Liberties of the People, that most of the Army joined with the People in vindicating their Liberties, even against a King upon whom they had a most absolute Dependence; and while our Army consists only of our own Countrymen, and is commanded by Gentlemen of good Families and Fortunes in the Kingdom, we may always expect from them the same honourable Behaviour. As for turning Officers adrift, and reducing them to a starving Condition, it is certain that no such Thing can ever happen to any Officer that is a Member of this House, let him vote or behave in this House in what ever Manner he will; for his very Qualification, the Estate he must have in his own Right and Possession, in order to qualify him for having a Seat in Parliament, will always be sufficient to afford him a comfortable Subsistence; so that if he has any Honour or Regard to his Country, the Fear of being turned out of his Post in the Army can never prevail upon him to give a Vote in this House contrary to what he thinks right.

And

And if we can suppose that any Officer, who is now, or ever may be in this House, has neither Honour nor Regard to his Country, with such a Man the Hopes of Preferment will work as effectually, as the Fear of extreme Necessity can be supposed to work with any Man of common Honour; but as no such Thing can, in my Opinion, be supposed, we have no Occasion to give ourselves any Trouble, much less to run ourselves into evident Dangers, in order to provide against it. In short, I see no Necessity for our making such an Alteration in our Constitution; I can see no Cause for our making such an Attack upon the Prerogative; it may be productive of great Mischiefs, but cannot produce any Good. And as for using the Officers ill, the Gentlemen of the Army, who are now in the House, are themselves the best Judges by which Side of the Question they are worst used; and their Way of Voting upon this Question will be the best Proof of their Judgment in that particular: As for my own part, I really think the Proposition so unreasonable, and so inconsistent with the Principles, even of those Gentlemen who support it, that I did not at first believe it could have bore so long a Debate.

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Sir Thomas Saunderson spoke next for the Motion; Lord Glenorchy against it; Sir John Barnard for it; Col. Mordaunt and Mr. Duncan Forbes against it: Then Sir Robert Walpole spoke against the Motion as follows:

Sir T. Saunderson.
Lord G. Lenorchy.
Sir J. Barnard.
Col. Mordaunt.
Mr D. Forbes.

Sir,

* When I first heard that such a Motion, as what is now before us, was to be made to this House, I consider'd with myself, what it was that had given Occasion for Gentlemen's thinking of making such an Innovation in our Constitution, what View or Design they had, and what Form of Government they aim'd at; as to all which Particulars I found myself entirely at a Loss. We have heard of Monarchies, Aristocracies, Democracies, of Oligarchies and Anarchies; but should this Proposition take Place, I am persuaded, the Government of this Country would soon become what may be call'd a Stratocracy, an Army-Government, which is a Sort of Government was never yet establish'd in any Country; and such a Government as, I believe, no Man in this Nation would be fond of: I shall not run out in Compliments to the Gentlemen of the Army, but I hope those Gentlemen will not take it amiss, if I say, that I do not desire to give up our present Form of Government, in order to come under their Government.

Sir R. Walpole.

* As for Trials by Martial Law, I believe no Gentleman will dispute, but that they have hitherto been very just and impartial; but if the Officers should be once made independent of all other Power, we do not know what those Trials

might

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might turn to : I neither can, nor shall say any Thing to reflect upon the Gentlemen who are Judges in such Trials, but we must all allow, that the Nature of Mankind is such, that every one has an Attachment to, and a Bias in Favour of those he looks on to be of the same Body with himself, Merchants, Lawyers, even the meanest Sort of Tradesmen shew a Partiality in Favour of one another ; and why we should look upon the Officers of the Army to be less liable to those natural Partialities than any other Set of Men, I cannot really see any Reason for ; therefore I am apt to believe, that if this Proposition should be once put into a Law, it would not be possible to remove any Officer from his Commission by the Sentence of a Court-Martial, as long as he preserved a Character and an Interest in the Army, which of course would encourage them in the boldest Attempts, against the Constitution and the Government of their Country.

Gentlemen have told us, that Generals are still to be removeable by the King at Pleasure, and that all other Officers are still to be removeable by his Majesty and the Parliament ; but I believe it will be granted, that though the King should most evidently see a very just Cause for removing a General Officer, he might not find it safe to do so, without removing at the same Time a great Number of inferior Officers, whom he knew to be Dependent upon that General, and perhaps associated with him in the same wicked Designs : And if Officers were made secure of their Commissions for Life, it would add so much Weight to their Interest through the whole Kingdom, that they might soon get such an Influence in both Houses of Parliament, as would make it impossible to procure an Address from either House, for the Removal of any of them ; besides, the very calling of the Parliament together, which cannot be done suddenly, would give the Alarm to those Officers who might be engaged in a Conspiracy for seizing the Government into their own Hands, whereby they would have an Opportunity of carrying their Designs into Execution, before the Government could by any Means prevent them.

Thus we should be in continual Danger of falling entirely under the Government of our Army, and I am sure there is nothing has of late happen'd, that can give Occasion for our running ourselves into any such Danger. What tho' his Majesty has lately thought fit to remove two Gentlemen from their Commands in the Army : Can the removing of two Gentlemen only, in a Course of so many Years, be call'd modelling or garbling the Army ? Can it be said, that the Gentlemen who have succeeded them, are not Men of as good Families, of as great Estates, and of as untainted Characters, as any Gentlemen

Gentlemen in the Kingdom? Surely, this cannot be call'd garbling, which, as has been already said, must imply the Removal of the most Worthy, and putting the most Unworthy into their Places; and this, I am convinced, the angriest Man in this House will not pretend to be the Case at present.

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It is certain, there never were any Removals made, but what occasioned various Speculations, when the Reasons why they were made were not publickly known; In such Cases, every Man who is ignorant of the true Reason, is apt to assign some Reasons of his own Invention; but of all the Removals that I have ever heard of, whatever Talk they might occasion without Doors, there never was any of them that occasion'd any Proposition or Motion in this House; no Pretext was ever taken from any such, to rob the Crown of its Prerogative, or to alter our Constitution in any Part. Even when the great Duke of Marlborough was removed, there was no such Proposition as this ever thought on: The Removal of that great Man I remember well; and I remember too the Arts, that were used by his Enemies, first, to procure, and then to justify his Removal. What Gentlemen would do by the Bill now proposed, was the very Crime pretended to be laid to his Charge: It was pretended, that he was contriving how to get himself made General for Life: That he was become too great for his Mistress; and had thrown off all Dependence on the Crown: That he aim'd at being made perpetual Dictator; and to give some Sort of Colour for the spreading of this Calumny, I remember, that a certain zealous Gentleman of those Days, sent a large Present to Mr. Booth, and told him, it was for the Part he acted in the Tragedy of Cato, against the perpetual Dictator. This shews, that it was then look'd on as a great Crime for an Officer to endeavour to be independent of the Crown; and why it should now appear in a Light so different, as to make People think it necessary to make a Law for that very Purpose, I cannot imagine.

We know that great Endeavours have been of late used, to make it be believed abroad, that this is a divided Nation, that the People are disaffected: Hitherto all such Endeavours have had but very little Effect; but if this Proposition should pass into a Law, will not Foreigners have Reason to believe what they have heard? They cannot imagine, that the removing two Colonels of Regiments, could have produced such a Law, but will naturally say, what we have heard we see now to be true, the Parliament has no Confidence in the King, and therefore they have taken from him that Power which all his Predecessors enjoy'd. Is this, Sir, an Opinion which we ought at any Time to encourage or promote

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promote among our Neighbours abroad, but especially at present, when a just Opinion of the Unanimity and Strength of this Nation may be so necessary for preserving a just Balance of Power in Europe, and consequently, the very Being of this Nation.

' In short, the Regulation now proposed can produce no Good, it may produce a Multitude of Mischiefs, and therefore I think we should all say, upon this Occasion, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.*'

Lord Catherlogh.

Lord Catherlogh spoke next :

Sir,

' I cannot but say, that the Officers of the Army are very much obliged to the Gentlemen, who are for agreeing to the Proposition now before you ; but I look upon it as a certain Maxim, that no Man can be a proper Judge in his own Cause, and as I have the Honour to be in the Army, I look upon myself as a Party concerned, and therefore I think can neither in Honour nor Conscience offer to give my Vote upon the Question.

Then the Question was put upon the Motion, and carried in the Negative, without a Division.

After this Mr Sandys stood up and spoke as follows :

Sir,

Mr Sandys moves for an Address to the King, to know who advis'd his Majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lt. Cobham from their Regiments.

' What gave Rise to the Proposition last before you, I believe most Gentlemen in this House may easily guess ; it was often mention'd in the last Debate : And as in the Course of that Debate, no Gentleman pretended to justify what has lately happened, I have a Question in my Hand which I hope will meet with no Opposition, and therefore, I shall take the Liberty to move, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to desire his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleas'd to inform this House, by whose Advice it was, that his Majesty was pleas'd to discharge his Grace, Charles Duke of Bolton, and the Right honourable Richard, Lord Viscount Cobham, from the Regiments lately under their several Commands, and what Crimes were alledged against them, which were the Occasion thereof.'

Debate the recon.

This Motion was seconded by Mr. Pulteney thus :

Mr Pulteney.

Sir,

' I stand up, to second the Motion made by my worthy Friend, which, I hope, will meet with much better Success than the last Motion we had before us : The last, indeed, was call'd, by some Gentlemen, an Attack upon the Prerogative, an Affront to the Crown, and a great many other hard Names, which I thought it very little deserved ; but I am sure there cannot be the least Colour of Reason for making such Objections, or for giving such Names to the Motion now made to you : On the contrary, it is shewing a

great

great Tenderness and a most dutiful Respect to his Majesty : Anno 7. Geo. II.
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The Removal of those two noble Lords from their Commands in the Army, was what no Gentleman in the late Debate so much as endeavoured to excuse ; most seemed rather to condemn, and all the World without Doors had, we know, before condemned it. Since then the Removal of those two noble Lords is look'd on to be a wrong Step, and since his Majesty cannot by Law be supposed to do any Wrong, we ought therefore, in Duty to the Crown, to present such an Address as is now proposed to us, that his Majesty may be freed from the Suspicion of doing any Thing that is wrong ; that the wicked Person who advised it may be pointed out to the World, and that the Reproach of such a Measure may fall where it ought.

‘ If ever it should happen to be the Case of this Nation, that a Minister grown insolent in Power, should dare to tell his Master, if you do not dismiss such a Man, or such another, I must abandon you, I can no longer support your Government ; and by such Language should prevail on him to dismiss some of his most faithful Servants, only because they had honourably opposed some wicked Attempt upon the Liberties of their Country : I say, if ever any one Minister, who solely engrossed the Ear of his Master, should arrive at such an Insolence in Power, the King would no longer be the first Man, he would be the first Slave in the Nation ; and in such a Case would it not be the Duty of Parliament ? Would not they be bound in Duty both to their Country and King, to desire to know who it was that advised such Measures ? And what were the Reasons for taking such ? This is not, I hope, the Case at present, but as the Removing of those two noble Lords has been condemned by the whole Nation, it is sufficient for justifying us in the Application now proposed : Let us know who gave the Advice ; it was a wicked one, and the Wickedness of it will be still more apparent, if it shall appear, that those who gave it dare not avow their Reasons for giving it.’

No Member rising up to oppose this Motion, but the Question being call'd for, Sir William Wyndham stood up, and spoke as follows :

Sir,

Whether or no there are any Gentlemen in the House Wm. Wyndham. against the Question, cannot, as yet, be determined ; but if there are, I was in Hopes they would have stood up, and have given the House some Satisfaction as to their Reasons for being against a Question, which seems to be highly approved of by several Gentlemen in this House. What the Cause of their Silence may be, I shall not pretend to

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guesses, but it seems we are to have no other Satisfaction from them, but only a Call for the Question.

' In my Opinion, the Affair now before us deserves a much more decent Treatment, if it were for no other Reason, but because the Names of two noble Lords are mentioned in the Question, both of whom have done great Services to their Country, but one in particular. As I do not mean to compliment the one, nor to depreciate the Services of the other, therefore I say they have both done great Services, though in different Capacities; but whoever remembers the late War, which was carried on so much to the Honour of this Nation, must remember how often honourable Mention was then made in our Gazettes of Sir Richard Temple: In most of the Accounts transmitted to us from Flanders, either of Battles or Sieges, his Name generally stood among the foremost in the List of those gallant Officers, who bravely ventured their Lives in the Service of their Country. And if we look upon his Behaviour in the Senate, it is as much to his Honour as his Service in the Field: In the last he has always acted as a good Officer and a brave Soldier, in the Defence of his Country; in the first he has always behaved as a faithful Subject and a good Counsellor to his King; and that such a Man should be one of the first to fall a Sacrifice to ministerial Resentment, is what must give a just Alarm to all the honest Part of Mankind: It is what principally gave Rise to this Day's Debate, and, in particular, to the Motion now before you, which I very much approve of, and if no Gentleman thinks fit to say any thing against it, I can hardly doubt of its being unanimously agreed to.'

Sir William Wyndham having done speaking, the Question was again call'd for, and being put, it was carried in the Negative by 252 against 193.

Debate on a Bill
for limiting the
Number of Officers
in the House of
Commons.

Feb. 15. the House ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for securing the Freedom of Parliament, by limiting the Number of Officers in that House; and that Mr Sandys, Mr Wortley, and Mr Cholmondley, do prepare and bring in the same.

Feb. 19. The said Bill was presented to the House by Mr Sandys, read the 1st Time, and ordered to be read a 2d Time.

Feb. 26. The said Bill was read a second Time; and upon Mr Sandys moving to have it committed, the same was oppos'd by Mr Haye, who was seconded by Mr Campbell of Pembroke-shire, as follows:

Mr Haye.
Mr J. Campbell.

Sir,

' In my Opinion, this Bill is one of the most extraordinary and most unreasonable Bills I have ever seen brought into Parliament. It is, I think, not only unreasonable, but in several

veral Respects unjust : For as to the Electors, the People of Great Britain, it is certain, that they are the best, and indeed the only proper Judges, who are the most capable, and the most proper Persons to represent them in Parliament ; and for us to pretend, by a Law, to lay a Restraint upon them in their Choice, is certainly doing them very great Injustice. If the People, the Electors of any Shire, City, or Borough, make Choice of a Gentleman to represent them in Parliament, who has an Employment in the Government, that very Choice is a sufficient Proof that they do not think the Service of their Country in Parliament, and the Service of the Crown incompatible : And the Law has already wisely provided, that in case any Gentleman accepts of a Place, or an Employment in the Government, after he has been chosen a Member of Parliament, his Seat in Parliament shall thereby be vacated ; he must return to his Country, City, or Borough, to be rechosen ; and if they again chuse him, it is a certain Sign, that they continue to think him the most proper Person to represent them, notwithstanding his having accepted of a Place or Employment under the Crown. Then as to the Gentlemen who are now, or may hereafter be in Offices, Civil or Military, under the Crown, it is certain, that they generally are Gentlemen of Families, and many of them have very large Properties in their Country. Have not they therefore as good a Right to stand Candidates for being chosen Members of Parliament, as any of those Gentlemen who are out of Employment ? And if the People do them the Honour to chuse them, why should we, by a Law, deprive them of that Honour, which the People have thought fit to confer upon them ? Is it not robbing them of a Part, at least, of those Rights which they have a just Title to as Englishmen, or as Free Britons ?

By this Bill, I must likewise think, there is a very great Piece of Injustice done to the Crown ; I cannot but think it a very extraordinary Thing to put such a Mark of Disgrace upon all the Officers employed by the Crown, as to exclude them from the Right of having Seats in Parliament, and that for no other Reason but because the King has thought them worthy of serving their Country in some Office, Civil or Military, under him. It is, really, not only putting an Affront upon his present Majesty, but even upon the Crown itself, and rendering it impossible for our Government to subsist under its present Form ; for if such an Ignominy shall be put upon all those, who shall accept of any Employment under the Crown, as to render them incapable of serving their Country in Parliament, which is one of the highest Honours a Gentleman can have in this Country, what Gen-

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tleman of Family or Fortune, of Honour or Capacity, will accept of any Employment under the Crown? And thus by rendering it impossible for the King to get any Man of Family or Fortune, of Honour or Capacity, to serve under him, you will render it impossible for our Government or Constitution to subsist under its present Monarch & Form.

' Should the Bill now before us pass into a Law, I think it is easy to foresee the Consequence. It would bring the House of Commons into the highest Contempt, or it would bring all those Gentlemen, who accept of any Offices in the Government, Civil or Military, under Contempt. It is natural for every Man to endeavour to render contemptible that Honour, that Post, or that Thing, which he knows he cannot attain to: The Gentlemen of the Army, the Navy, or in Civil Offices, knowing that by Law they were all absolutely excluded from the Honour of having Seats in the House of Commons, would all join together in endeavouring to render the House contemptible in the Eyes of the People; and we need not doubt, but that the Clergy would join with the rest, because, I think, they are already excluded: On the other Hand, the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, and those who might continue to be eligible into this House, would endeavour to support the Honour of this House, by endeavouring to render contemptible all those, who accepted of any Post or Employment, either in Church or State. Is it not much to be feared, that such an unnatural Division as this might, in the End, prove fatal to the Constitution? For the Success of either Party would certainly overturn our present Form of Government.

' I will not say, but that Country Gentlemen are very proper Representatives of the People, and I believe the Majority of this House will always consist of such, as it has formerly done; but I believe it will be granted me, that it is necessary, for dispatching the Business that properly comes before this House, to have likewise some of those Gentlemen among us, who belong to, and are acquainted with the Manner of transacting Business in the several great Offices under the Government. Every Gentleman, who has been but a short Time in this House, and has attended to the several Sorts of Business that have come before us, and the several Sorts of Papers and Accounts, we have, from Time to Time, found necessary for us to call for, must have taken Notice, that the House would have been sometimes greatly bewildered, if we had not had some Gentlemen among us belonging to the publick Offices, capable of explaining to the House the Matters, which we then happened to have under our Consideration; which must convince every Man of the Necessity of having some such Gentlemen

tlemen always amongst us. If, indeed, there were Reason to suspect, that Gentlemen in Offices, were by their enjoying such Offices, any way influenced in their way of Acting or Speaking in this House, it might then be necessary to contrive some Way of preventing that Influence for the future; but as I am convinced, that a Man's being in an Office, does not in the least influence his way of Thinking, or his Manner of Acting, in this House, I therefore think we have no Occasion for contriving any such Remedies at present, and far less for such an extraordinary Remedy, as is proposed by the Bill now before us, for which Reason I am against committing it.

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Mr. Campbell was oppos'd by Mr. Sandys, as follows: Mr Sandys.

Sir,

' As this Bill met with no Opposition, either when it was moved for, or when it was brought in and read the first Time, I was very little apprehensive, that we should have had any Debate upon it; and much less was I apprehensive, that our going into a Committee upon it would have been opposed, for as yet it can be called little more than a Blank; it cannot well deserve the Name of a Bill, 'till it has gone through the Committee, where the many Blanks which are now in it, are properly to be filled up. I was, indeed, surpris'd, to hear the worthy Gentleman, who spoke last, say that he thought it the most extraordinary and unreasonable Bill he had ever seen brought into this House; for if the Gentleman will look into our Journals, he will see that this very Bill has been often brought in, and has almost always been pass'd in this House; and I am sure, if ever it was thought reasonable by this House, it must now be thought much more so, when the Number of Placemen is much greater in this House than it was ever heretofore. The worthy Gentleman has likewise told us, that he thinks the Bill unjust, both with respect to the Crown, the People, and the Gentlemen who have the Honour to be employed by the Crown; as to which, I shall take Notice in general, that, by the same Method of reasoning, he may pretend to shew us, that all the Laws that were ever made for regulating Elections were unjust, and were Encroachments upon the Rights of the People. I shall readily agree with him that the People are the properest Judges, who ought to be chosen by them for Representatives in Parliament; and I am confident, that were they left to a free Choice, we should not see so many Civil and Military Officers brought into Parliament.

' The People, I believe, would always think themselves more secure in being represented by Country Gentlemen, with whom they are well acquainted, and who can have no Interest separate from them, than by Clerks of Offices, or

such

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such other Persons, whom they perhaps never saw or heard of before they came down to be chose their Representatives, and whom, probably, they may never see again, 'till they return to ask the same Favour; which every Gentleman here knows to be often the Case of many of our little Boroughs in England. But, to say, that it would be any Injustice in us, to lay any Restraint upon the People, as to the Choice of their Representatives, seems to me very extraordinary, when we consider the Laws now in Being, by which the People are restrained from chusing any Gentleman for their Representative, who is not possessed of such an Estate. Surely, we may, with respect to Elections, without being guilty of any Injustice, lay what Restraints we think necessary for the Good of the Publick, and the Preservation of our Constitution; for I am sure, that whatever is for the Benefit of the People, cannot be justly said or thought to be injurious to the Crown. It is extraordinary to say, that what is proposed by this Bill, would be an Injustice done to those, who are thereby to be made incapable of being elected; for have not we already a Law, by which all the Officers concerned in the Collection of the Customs or Excise, are rendered incapable of being chosen Members of Parliament? And yet I have never before heard it urged, that there was any Injustice done to those Gentlemen, by excluding them from having Seats in Parliament, as long as they are in an Office which is inconsistent with their being Members of this House.

I will allow that the Choice made by the Burgeses of a little Borough, or by the Freeholders of a County, if it falls upon an Officer, Civil or Military, shews that the Majority of those Electors, at that Time, did not think the Office he then enjoyed incompatible or inconsistent with his being their Representative; but I hope it will not be said, that the Burgeses of a little Borough, or even the Freeholders of a County, are better Judges in this Respect than the Representatives of the whole People of Great Britain met in this House; especially when the Opinion of this House is approved of and confirmed by the other two Branches of our Legislature. As to the Alternative pretended, that if this Bill should pass into a Law, it would render either the Officers, Civil and Military, contemptible, or this House contemptible in the Eyes of the People, I cannot imagine how it could produce either of these Effects; for as to the Officers, Civil or Military, is it to be imagined, that a successful General or Admiral, a brave and experienced Captain, by Sea or Land, or a Civil Officer, honest, expert, and diligent, in the Station he is in, would be contemned, because he was not capable of being a Member of this House?

House? Were the Clergy ever brought into Contempt, by their being excluded the Privilege of being chosen Members of Parliament? On the contrary, I believe, they never got any Honour by being Members of either House; and, I believe, there are very few Officers, either Civil or Military, in the Kingdom, who ever gained much Honour, or much Repute, among the People, by their being Members of either House of Parliament, unless when their being such was the Occasion of their being turned out of the Offices they enjoyed, and might have continued to enjoy, to their own Honour, and the Advantage of their Country, if they had not been Members of Parliament. As to the other Part of the Alternative, that this House may be rendered contemptible by what is now proposed, I am not in the least afraid of it; but I am very much afraid, that if some Bill of this Nature is not speedily passed into a Law, this House will become contemptible in the Eyes not only of our own People, but of the whole World.

* Gentlemen may pretend, that no Man is influenced in his way of Thinking, or in his manner of Acting, in this House, by the Post or the Office he possesses, and may be turned out of, whenever a Prime Minister may have a mind; but while Men are Men, I am convinced, there will always be a great Number, by far, I fear, the greatest Number, who will rather vote according to the Directions of the Prime Minister for the Time being, than run the Risk of being turned out of the lucrative Post or Office he then holds at the Pleasure of the Crown: And if ever a Majority of this House should happen to be composed of such Men, I am sure it will become as contemptible as ever the Senate of Rome was, after it became the political Tool of their arbitrary and tyrannical Emperors. I will likewise agree with the honourable Gentleman, that it may be necessary, at least, it may be convenient for this House, always to have in it some of those Gentlemen, who belong to and are conversant in the Methods of transacting Business in the several great Offices of the Kingdom; and therefore I am not for excluding from Seats in Parliament all those who are in Offices Civil and Military; I believe no Gentleman in this House ever had any such Thoughts in his Head; and if Gentlemen will but peruse the Bill as it stands now, they will see, that there is to be an Exception, which is now left blank, as in all such Cases is usual, in order that when we go into a Committee, Gentlemen may then propose the filling up in that Blank as many Officers, or as many Sorts of Officers, as they have a mind. About this, indeed, I expected there might have been some Debates; but considering the great Number of Officers of all Sorts we have now in the House, considering

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how greatly that Number may be increased in Times to come, considering the great Clamour already raised in the Nation against so many Officers being in this House, I really did not expect, that any Gentleman would have opposed the committing of the Bill, or would have pretended, that the passing of some such Bill was not now become necessary, both for the Honour of this House, and the Safety of our Constitution. To conclude, the Bill is at present but a Blank, but I am confident, it may be made a good and a reasonable Bill, and agreeable to every Gentleman in this House; therefore I hope the House will agree to the going into a Committee upon it, because if Gentlemen do not like it after the Blanks are filled up, they may then drop it, or throw it out upon the third Reading.

Mr Ed. Thompson.

Mr Edward Thompson spoke next :

Sir,

* If we do resolve to go into a Committee on the Bill now before us, which I hope we shall not, I must take Liberty to move for an Instruction to receive a Clause, for excluding all those who have asked for any Place or Employment, or any other Favour, from the Government, and have been refus'd what they asked for; because I am persuaded, that Anger, Revenge and Disappointment, may influence Mens Actions, and even their Behaviour in this House, as much as the Hopes of getting a Place, or the Fears of losing one, can possibly do; and therefore I think it fully as reasonable to exclude the former, as it is to exclude the latter, from having Seats in this House. If it can be supposed, that the Hopes of getting a Place, or the Fears of losing one, can influence some Men so much, as to make them approve of all the Measures of the Government, right or wrong; I am sure it may be supposed, that the Passions of Revenge and Disappointment may likewise influence some Men so much, as to make them find Fault where there is none, and to oppose whatever is proposed by the Government, even when they are in their own Consciences convinced that what was proposed is right, and necessary for the Support of our Government and Constitution: But for my own Part, I can make no such Supposition; I cannot suppose, that the being in a Place or Employment under the Government, is inconsistent with common Honour and Honesty; nor can I suppose, that any Man would, for the sake of satisfying his Malice or Revenge, oppose any Thing that he saw was necessary for preserving or improving the Happiness of his Country; and I would gladly ask those Gentlemen, who have formerly been in Places under the Government, and happen now to be out, if they looked upon themselves as less honest, when they were in Place, than they are now when they are out?

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‘ As the Bill appears to me to be a total Exclusion of all Officers, civil and military, from having Seats in this House, I would really advise those Gentlemen, who now seem so fond of it, to be a little cautious in passing such a Bill, for if that, which they have so long struggled to come at, be so near at Hand, as some People have been pleased to give out without Doors, the passing of such a Bill may soon affect a great many of themselves. They may then, perhaps, think of the Bill as I now think of it; and I must declare, that I can by no means agree to the committing of it, because I think it impossible to make it a good Bill.’

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Then Mr. Digby said,

Mr Digby,

Sir,

I differ so far, in my Opinion about the Bill now before us, from the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, that I think it is not possible to make it a bad Bill. It is a Bill that has often, as was before observed, passed through this House; and I am sure it was never more necessary for securing the Freedom and Independency of Parliaments than it is at this present Time: I am afraid, that even the Transactions of this Day may be a convincing Proof, of the great Necessity that there is for having some such Bill passed; or rather that they will be a melancholy Proof of its being already impossible ever to get such a Bill passed. It is certain, that the Preservation of our Constitution depends upon preserving a just Balance between the several Powers of which it is composed: for if ever the Scale should be so much turned, as to overthrow and destroy that Balance, our Constitution will, from that Moment, be at an End: And it is certain, that the many penal Laws which have been enacted since the Revolution, the many Taxes that have been laid on and still continued, and the great Number of Officers that are necessary for the collecting of those Taxes, have thrown a great and a dangerous Power into the Hands of the Crown; such a Power as, 'tis greatly to be feared, may enable the Crown to swallow up the two other Branches of our Legislature, by making them entirely dependent on the Crown, if ever those employed by the Crown should be wicked enough to make such a cruel Use of the Power they have got into their Hands. I will not say, that ever such a Use, or any wicked Use, has as yet been made of the great Power which the Crown has lately acquired; but there is no doubt but that such a Use may be made of it: Some future Minister may arise, who may make an absolute and a blind Obedience to his Commands, both as to voting and speaking in either House, and as to voting at Elections for Members of this House, the only Tenure by which Gentlemen in Office can hope to continue in their respective Offi-

ces, and the only Merit which can intitle a Man to Preferment either in Church or State; and if this should ever happen to be the Case, I must leave it to every Gentleman that hears me to consider, whether our Constitution would not then be in the most imminent Danger: Shall we then, who are the Guardians of the People's Liberties, neglect or refuse to provide proper Fences, against that Power, which may, some time or other, be made use of for invading or breaking down all those Fences, which now serve to protect and defend the Liberties and the Properties of the People? We all know, that the Service of the Crown and the Service of the People ought always to be the same; we know that the Crown ought never to ask any Thing but what is for the Service of the People, and that the People ought never to refuse what is necessary for the Support of the Crown, and for their own Defence; but we likewise know, that the Service of the Crown and the Service of the People have not been always the same; we know that the Crown has sometimes been the People's most dangerous Enemy, and the People may, perhaps, have sometimes refused what was necessary for the Support of the Crown, and for their own Defence. What has happened may happen again; but as long as the Parliament continues pure and uncorrupted, they will always be proper Mediators between the Crown and the People; whereas, if both Houses of Parliament should ever come to be entirely dependent on the Crown, and ready to follow blindly whatever Instructions they may receive from the Ministers of the Crown, could it then be said, that the Parliament would be proper Mediators between the Crown and the People? Could it be expected, that the Parliament would ever put a Check upon the most arbitrary Demands of the Crown? or could it be expected, that they would ever have Weight enough with the People, to prevail with them to comply willingly with the most necessary Demands of the Crown? This is a Case that is certainly to be apprehended by all those, who have any Regard for our present happy Constitution; and as the Number of Officers in the Service of the Crown is daily increasing in this House, I think it high Time to put a Stop to it; for the Disease may, very soon, become incurable.

* That some dangerous Practices have formerly been attempted, by the Ministers of the Crown, upon the Members of this House, cannot be denied; since an honourable Gentleman of great Worth, a Gentleman of great Distinction in the Army, *General Wade*, has but lately told us, that even he himself was threatened, for daring to give his Vote against one of the most destructive ministerial Schemes that was ever brought into Parliament; and tho' he had Virtue
and

and Courage enough to despise such Threats, yet it is probable, that many were brought over by such or the like Arguments; because that Scheme, destructive as it was, got the Sanction of a British Act of Parliament; an Act, which, for its many fatal and iniquitous Effects, will for ever make a considerable Era in the Annals of this Nation. But I need not enlarge, upon the Necessity of our having some such Law as is proposed by this Bill; the Thing speaks itself; the Independence of our Parliaments is certainly our greatest Security; and if we cannot render them altogether independent, the more they are so, the less our Danger will be, therefore I am for our going into the Committee moved for.

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Mr. Winington spoke next,

Mr Winington,

Sir,

* This Bill, as Gentlemen have observed, has, 'tis true, been often proposed, and has sometimes passed in this House, but it has likewise been sometimes rejected; so that if there is any Argument in this, it is equally strong on both Sides; and as it has been often proposed, and never yet has passed into a Law, it is a certain Proof that it has never yet been thought reasonable: Indeed, if we look into the History of it we shall find, that it has, at all Times, been brought in and supported by those, who were at those several Times endeavouring as much as they could to distress the Government. I will likewise agree with the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, that it is necessary to keep a Balance between the three Branches of the Legislature; but I cannot agree with him in saying, that that Balance is now in any Danger of being destroyed: I hope it never will; I am sure it never was in less Danger than it is at present; and I am persuaded, that if the Government should ever attempt any Thing against the Liberties of the People, they would find no such servile Dependence, or blind Obedience, among the Gentlemen in Office as has been talk'd of: Many of those Gentlemen are, and, I believe, always must be, Gentlemen of good Families, and possessed of considerable Estates of their own; they may not perhaps be very ready to join with any Set of Men to distress that Government they serve; but if they should observe that Government encroaching upon the Liberties of the People, they would then, without doubt, shew some Regard to the Families they were come of, and the Preservation of their own private Fortunes; and would rather throw up the Posts or Places they enjoyed under the Crown, than join with the Crown in overturning the Laws and the Constitution of their Country.

* As there may be Danger, in throwing too much Power

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into the Hands of the Crown, so, I hope, it will be granted, that the Hands of the Crown may be so much weakened, as to render it impossible for the Crown to support itself, and administer the publick Affairs of the Nation as they ought to be; and this last would, I am convinced, be the Case, if this Bill should pass into a Law. For, as it certainly contains a total Exclusion of all Officers, civil and military, where must the Crown go to find Persons to fill up those Employments as they shall become vacant? Gentlemen of Figure or Fortune in their Country would not certainly accept of any them, were they thereby to be branded with such a Mark of Infamy, as to be rendered incapable of serving their Country in Parliament; so that the Crown would be obliged to go among the very Dregs of the People, to find out Persons who would undertake, or accept of any Office under the Crown; and thus, in a short Time, we should have all our Offices and Employments, both civil and military, filled with Creatures of no Family or Fortune in the Kingdom: And if all our civil Employments, but especially our military Employments, should come into such Hands, I would gladly know, from the Gentlemen so fond of this Bill, if they would think the Constitution safe under such an Administration. This I take to be a very strong Argument against the Bill, and I cannot really see any one Argument for it; I can see no Reason, why a Gentleman, only because he is in Employment under the Crown, should be deprived of his Birthright, by being disqualified from sitting in Parliament. It is certain, that the People at present do not think so, otherwise they would not chuse so many of those Gentlemen as they do; and I must think, that it would be a very great Encroachment on the Rights of the People, to dictate to them in their Choice, and to tell them, you shall chuse only such or such Persons for your Representatives in Parliament. The Laws, as they stand now, have, I think, provided sufficiently in this Respect; if any Gentleman accepts of an Office or Employment under the Crown, he is sent down to be re-chosen, and if the People think him thereby disqualified, they may refuse chusing him again for their Representative; but the many Instances, which have even lately occurred, of Gentlemen being re-elected upon such Occasions, is with me a full Proof, that the People do not think any Gentleman disqualified from being their Representative, by his having accepted of an Office or Employment under the Crown. As for the South Sea-Scheme, which the honourable Gentleman was pleased to mention, however destructive it was, it is certain it is not to be laid to the Charge of the Crown, or of the Ministry even at that Time
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We all know how, and by what Methods, it was carried through Parliament: We know, that when the Inquiry came to be made, it appeared, that those Directors, who were let into the Secret, and intrusted with the Management of that Scheme in Parliament, were Men of all Denominations and Complexions, and Subscriptions were given to Members of as different Denominations and Complexions; by which there were, I believe, many more brought in to support that Scheme, than were brought in by any ministerial Influence: But whatever may be in that, it is well known, that the Ministers that now are, were strenuous Opposers of that Scheme; so that no Argument can be drawn from thence, for or against any Thing that is now proposed.

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Mr Winington was answered by Sir William Wyndham:

Sir W. Wyndham.

Sir,

* As it has always been my Opinion, that every Man, who is in a Place or Office under the Government, is not therefore necessarily to be supposed to be under any slavish Influence as to his Behaviour in this House, I have formerly opposed Bills of this Sort; and if this Bill, when it may properly be call'd one, does appear to be the same with those which I have formerly opposed, I shall oppose this likewise. But the worthy Gentleman, who brought in this Bill, has already, in Conversation, shewed me a good deal of Difference between what is now designed, and the Bills I have formerly opposed; for which Reason I shall be for going into a Committee upon it, because no Man can well say any Thing, either for or against the Bill, as it now stands, it being really nothing but a Blank; but when those Blanks are filled up, and the Bill brought into such a Shape, as to enable one to form some sort of Judgment about it, I can then easily determine, what farther I am to do; and if it be not then made very different from the Bills I have formerly opposed, under the same Title, I shall in this, as, I hope, I have on all other Occasions, act consistently with myself, and oppose the Bill's being carried any Step farther. At the same Time I must take Notice, that the Necessity for some such Bill is certainly much greater now than it was formerly: Parliaments are now of a much longer Continuance, and it must be granted, that a more intimate Acquaintance, and a more close Correspondence between the Crown and a Parliament, may be contracted in a Course of seven Years, than could possibly have happened in a Course of three Years only. This is a most dangerous Novelty, which has been lately introduced; and when such Novelties are introduced into our Constitution, if they can't be shaken off, if Things can't be brought back

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to where they were, Laws, which formerly were thought unnecessary and unreasonable, may then become both reasonable and necessary; and Gentlemen who formerly opposed them may then think themselves obliged, both in Honour and Duty, to support and promote them to the utmost of their Power.

‘ As the Bill is now but a Blank, we argue in the dark upon it, but if I have been rightly informed, there never was the least Design of excluding all Officers, civil and military; on the contrary, the great Officers of State, the Commissioners of the Treasury, Admiralty, Trade, and many others in such Offices are to be excepted: None of them are designed, nor indeed ought they to be excluded, because they are generally such, who by their Families and Fortunes have a natural Interest in the Country, and may be chose Members of Parliament without any Assistance from the Board to which they belong. Such Gentlemen may reasonably be supposed to be independent of the Board, or even of any Minister of State; but the same cannot be said of all the other little Officers belonging to those Boards, or to any other Office under the Government; if such little Officers should ever be brought into Parliament, it must be by the unnatural Interest of the Board or Office to which they belong; and as they’ll then be entirely dependent on the Board or Office to which they belong, not only for their Seats in Parliament but likewise for their daily Bread, we cannot suppose, that their Behaviour in this House will be absolutely free from ministerial Influence; therefore I must think, that it may be very proper to exclude all such from being brought into Parliament; for though it may be necessary to allow a Secretary of State, or any such great Officer, a Seat in this House, yet it is not at all necessary he should come here with his Clerks, and the whole Equipage of his Office. Tho’ the honourable Gentleman, who spoke last, seemed to think that no Argument could be drawn from the Success of late the fatal South Sea-Scheme, yet, I think he, from thence, gave us a very strong Argument for some such Bill as is now proposed, when he told us, that Gentlemen of all Denominations and Complexions were drawn in to support that Scheme, by means of the Subscriptions that were given them; for does not that shew, that Men of all Denominations and Complexions are apt to have their Inclinations byassed, and even their Understandings blinded, in Favour of that publick Measure, from which they expect to draw a private Advantage? Is not this one of the strongest Arguments, that can be given, for us to take all possible Care, that no Member of this House shall ever have any private Advantage to expect, or
any

any private Loss to fear, from his Voting on either Side of any Question, that may happen in this House? And is not this a most unanswerable Argument, for our agreeing to exclude those from Seats in this House, who may have the whole, or at least the principal Part, of their daily Subsistence depending upon their way of voting or behaving, as Members of this House? However, it is impossible to argue with any Certainty, either for or against the Bill, as it now stands; if the Bill, after it has passed thro' the Committee, shall appear to be an unreasonable, or an unnecessary Bill, we may easily prevent its going any farther; and therefore I must say, that I can see no Reason for Gentlemen's opposing our going into a Committee upon it, unless it be, that they are afraid, lest it may be there made so good and so reasonable a Bill, that they cannot then, with any Confidence, oppose its being passed into a Law.

Then the Question was put, and carried in the Negative, by 230 against 191.

February 19. Complaint being made to the House, that William Noble, Clerk, had asserted, in a publick Coffee-house, that Sir William Milner, Bart. Member for York, received a Pension from the Court, and that he knew the Person who paid it; in Dishonour of the said Sir William Milner, and in Breach of the Privilege of the House, Mr James Farrer and Mr Brudenell Greenwood, who had heard and reported this Piece of Conversation, attending at the Door, they were called in, and examined touching the Matter of the said Complaint; and upon declaring that they had heard Mr Noble publicly assert, That Sir William Milner was a Pensioner, and received 500 l. *per Ann.* for his voting in Parliament, and that he knew from whom he received the same; it was ordered, That the said William Noble, Clerk, be summoned to attend the House forthwith, to answer the said Complaint. Mr Noble, being called in and examined, acknowledged, That he might perhaps have said in private Conversation, that he had heard of Sir William Milner's having a Pension from the Court, or something to that Effect; but as what he said upon that Occasion, was said only cursorily in Conversation, and without any Design of reflecting upon any Gentleman, he could not remember the very Words he then made Use of. He being withdrawn, Sir William Milner stood up, and spoke as follows:

Mr Speaker,

I am extremely sorry, that I should have the Misfortune of having my Name mentioned, in so infamous a Manner as what you have now heard at your Bar; but since it has been so mentioned, I think it incumbent upon me to make a publick

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Complaint against
Sir Wm. Milner,
Bart. for receiving
a Pension of 500 l.
per Annum for his
Vote in Parliament.

Sir Wm. Milner's
Defence.

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publick Declaration of my own Innocence: And I do, upon my Honour, and in the most solemn Manner, affirm, That I neither have, nor ever had any Place, Pension, Gratuity or Reward, from the Court, either directly or indirectly, for my voting in Parliament, or upon any other Account whatever: And likewise, That it is, and has ever been my constant Resolution, that, during the Time I have the Honour of serving my Country in Parliament, in order to keep my Opinion unbiassed, I never will accept of any Place or Pension either from this Ministry, or any succeeding one.

' The reflecting upon the Members of this House has been a common Practice of late Years, by the Enemies of our Constitution, to render his Majesty's Government odious, to inflame the Nation, and to lessen the Dignity and Authority of this House: For if Mankind can be once brought to believe, that the Members of this House are corrupted, it is a very natural Consequence to imagine, that whatever is done here proceeds from private Views, and a self-interested Principle, without regarding the Good of the Publick.

' For my own Part, I think, if the Gentleman, whose Character should be Sacred, can make good his Assertions, he ought to have the Thanks of this House, for doing his Country so publick a Service, as the detesting a corrupt and unworthy Member: But if it be false and groundless, I hope this House will have so just a Regard for one of their own Body, as to shew a proper Resentment.'

Then it was resolved, *Nem. Con.* That it appeared to the House,

I. That William Noble, Clerk, had publickly asserted that Sir William Milner, a Member of that House, was a Pensioner, and received 500 l. *per Annum*, for his voting in Parliament; and that he knew from whom he received the same.

II. That the said Assertion was false and scandalous, highly reflecting upon the Honour of the said Sir William Milner, and of that House, and a Breach of the Privilege thereof: And it was ordered that the said William Noble, Clerk, be, for the said Offence, taken into the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the House.

Mr Noble was accordingly taken into Custody, but some Days after, upon a Petition to the House, expressing his Sorrow for his said Offence, and begging Pardon of the Member, and of the House for the same, he was discharged out of Custody.

Feb. 20. The House resolved itself into a Committee to consider farther of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty; and resolved, That the several

The said Complaint
voted false and scandalous.

Duties on Salt, and also on white and red Herrings, delivered out for Home-Consumption, which by an Act of the 5th Year of his present Majesty's Reign were revived and granted to his Majesty until the 25th of *March* 1735, be farther continued and granted from the 24th of *March* 1734, to the 25th of *March* 1742: This Resolution was next Day agreed to by the House, and a Bill order'd in pursuance thereof, which accordingly was brought in and passed into a Law. Thus was that Duty continued for seven Years, without any great Opposition, notwithstanding the reviving of it had been so much opposed.

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The Salt Duty continued to March 25, 1742.

March 7. The Bill for preventing the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing, was read a third Time, and pass'd, and Sir John Rushout was ordered to carry it to the Lords.

The Bill to prevent Stock-jobbing pass'd, and sent up to the Lords.

March 13. Upon a Motion made by Mr. Gibbon, it was order'd, that the Serjeant at Arms attending the House should go with the Mace into the Court of Requests, and Places adjacent, and summon the Members there to attend the Service of the House, and he being returned, Mr. William Bromley, Member for Warwick, stood up, and spoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

' The Call of the House being adjourn'd to a very remote Day, upon a general Opinion, which I hope is well founded, that no Vote of Credit will be propos'd, I believe we can scarce expect to see a fuller House than this Day produces. There cannot therefore be a better Opportunity of making a Motion which I apprehend to be of such a National Concernment, that I have long wish'd it undertaken by some Person better able to support it than myself: But I have this Satisfaction, that what I am going to offer will so far speak for itself, as may supply any Defects in my Manner of laying it before you; and I cannot doubt the Concurrence of this House, when it comes to be maturely considered.

Mr Bromley's Motion for repealing the Septennial Act.

' I believe we are none of us unappris'd of the Dislike the People in general have always had to long Parliaments; a Dislike justly founded on Reason and Experience; long Parliaments in former Reigns having proved the unhappy Cause of great Calamities to this Nation, and having been at all Times declared an Innovation upon our Constitution I am convinced there is no one that hears me, who does not believe the People thought themselves highly aggrieved by the Septennial Bill: That they even looked upon it as a dangerous Infringement of their Liberties, notwithstanding the Cause alledged in the Preamble to the Act, which seem'd at that Time to carry some Weight with it.

' That Cause being happily removed, they desire to revert, as near as may be, to their ancient Constitution; and surely

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there can never be a more favourable Opportunity to effectuate it than at this Juncture, when his Majesty, to the great Joy of the Kingdom, has been graciously pleased to declare his Satisfaction, That the People are soon to have an Opportunity of chusing a new Representative. The present Parliament draws near its Dissolution: What can it do more for its own Honour? How can it crown its many meritorious Acts better, than by redressing a Grievance, which a succeeding Parliament may possibly have its Reasons for not entering into?

‘ Frequent Parliaments were early declared a fundamental Part of our Constitution. In the fourth of Edward III. an Act passed for holding them once a Year, or oftner if there should be Occasion. In the 36th Year of the same Reign that Statute was confirmed. In that Parliament *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foresta* were confirm'd, and several new Privileges granted to the Subject. Then comes the Clause relating to Parliaments, which sufficiently shews, the Intention and original Institution of them was for the Redress of Grievances: For the Bill enacts, That for the Maintenance of the said Articles and Statutes, that is, the Privileges before-mentioned, and for Redress of divers Mischiefs and Grievances, which daily happen, a new Parliament shall be held once every Year, as at another Time was ordained. The 16th of Car. II. recites, That by the ancient Laws and Statutes, Parliaments are to be held very often, and therefore enacts, That the sitting and holding of Parliaments shall not be intermitted, or discontinued, for more than three Years.

‘ In the early Days when this prudent Care was taken for frequent Meeting of Parliaments, the Crown was possessed of Revenues, which made Applications to the People for Money; unless upon extraordinary Emergencies, unnecessary. It therefore plainly appears, That Redress of Grievances, making salutary Laws for the Good of the Community, and preserving the Liberties of the People, by supporting a due Balance between the Power of the Crown and the Rights of the Subject, were the main Ends of calling Parliaments. The Power of calling then being the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, it became necessary, for the Safety of the Subject, to oblige the Crown to call them frequently. I must confess, a Caution of this Kind is no longer necessary, nor can it ever be, so long as we preserve to ourselves the Power of granting Money; the Crown Revenues being sunk, or wantonly granted away, the annual Call for a Supply must necessarily produce an annual Meeting of Parliament. But give me Leave to observe, the Grievance now complained of is of a very different Nature:

It is not founded on Discontinuance of Parliaments; but on a too long and dangerous Continuance of one and the same Parliament: A Practice unheard of in former Times, when Prorogations were not known: For when a Parliament was annually called for the Redress of Grievances, as soon as the Business of the Session was over, it was dissolved, and a new one called the next Year for the same Purpose; by which Means the Country had a proper Check upon their Representatives, and those who had appear'd to be too much under the Influence of the Crown; those who were too much attached to the Minister, had less Opportunity of injuring their Country; the People had it more frequently in their Power to shew a proper Resentment, and remedy the Evil, by sending others the next Year in their Places.

This Matter seems fully explained by 16 Car. II. which does not only prevent Discontinuance of Parliaments, but wisely provides against the too long Continuance of one and the same Parliament, by enacting it into a Law, that a new Parliament shall be called once in Three Years, or oftner if there be Occasion. The Bill of Rights in the second Session of William and Mary, among many other Privileges which we now enjoy, enacts, That for Redress of Grievances, amending, strengthening and preserving Laws, Parliaments ought to be frequently held; and the sixth of the same Reign, explains the true Meaning of the Clause, when it declares, That frequent and new Parliaments tend very much to the happy Union and good Agreement between the King and the People; it confirms the 16 Car. II. that Parliaments shall be held once in three Years at least, and adds, That no Parliament shall continue more than three Years at farthest. Between that and the first of the late King, several Parliaments were held, and none continued longer than three Years; some held for one Session; which seems to be the original Constitution, and best calculated for the good of the Nation. That Year the Septennial Bill past, the Repeal of which I am going to move, but believe it more agreeable to the Rules of the House, that the Act itself should be first read, [*Here the Clerk read the Act*] The Preamble to the Bill, which is the Foundation of it, will, I think, admit a very easy Answer; As to the first Point, That Triennial Parliaments have proved more grievous, burthensome, and expensive, than they were ever known before that Law past, I readily agree: But let us consider the Cause; the Lengthening the Term occasioned the Expence. I fear I might add, the Multiplicity of Places enjoy'd by the Members of this House, may be too justly alledged another Cause. But I would willingly confine myself to the particular Point,

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how far the Term or Duration of Parliaments might encrease or lessen the Expence? Might add to or diminish the Grievance complained of? And I will consider it only in this Light, by submitting it to every Gentleman that hears me, Whether he would not give more for an Annuity of three Years than for a Grant determinable at the end of one? And by the same Parity of Reasoning, Whether Septennial Parliaments must not prove more grievous, burthensome and expensive than Triennial, at least in such a Degree as an Annuity for seven Years deserves a better Consideration than one for three.

But supposing I should be out in this Point, which I can never give up without due Conviction; this Argument in the Preamble is, I hope, entirely at an End. The Act against Bribery and Corruption, which must ever redound to the Honour of this Parliament, will necessarily remedy this Evil: That glorious Act will prevent Corruption in the Electors. Nothing but frequent new Parliaments can remedy it in the Electeds.

The other Reason upon which that Act was founded, namely, a Suspicion that Designs were carrying on to renew the Rebellion, and an Invasion from abroad, was in my humble Opinion, the only justifiable Pretence for enacting it into a Law; and might possibly have induced some Gentlemen of very great Honour and Integrity, to give their Votes for the Bill at that Juncture, whose Assistance, I flatter myself, I shall now have in repealing it: For those who voted for it from that View, could never intend it should be made perpetual, or that it should continue longer than that Misfortune subsisted.

I must beg Pardon of you Sir, and of the House, for the Trouble I have given you. The Nature of the Motion, I am going to make you, has unavoidably drawn me into a Length as disagreeable to myself, as it must have been to those that hear me. Numberless Arguments will occur to every Gentleman in favour of it; I will therefore conclude with this Motion, viz.

That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for repealing the Septennial Act, and for the more frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments.

In this, Sir, I hope I shall be justified, as it cannot proceed from any indirect or private Views; but from a real Conviction, that the Happiness and Safety of this Nation depends upon it; in which I am supported by the common Voice of the People, and have it particularly recommended to me by a great Majority of those I have the Honour to represent in Parliament, as well as from my Neighbours of the City of Coventry, for whose Recommendation

mendation I shall always have a due Regard, tho' I have not the Honour to represent them.' Anno 7. Geo. II.
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Mr Bromley was seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn, as follows :

Sir J. St. Aubyn,

Mr Speaker,

' The honourable Gentleman, who made you this Motion, has supported the Necessity of it by so many strong and forcible Arguments, that there is hardly any Thing new to be offered. I am very sensible therefore of the Disadvantages I must lie under, in attempting to speak after him ; and I should content myself with barely seconding him, if the Subject Matter of this Debate was not of so great Importance, that I should be ashamed to return to my Electors, without endeavouring, in the best Manner I am able, to declare publickly the Reasons, which induced me to give my most ready Assent to this Question.

' 'Tis evident from what has been said, that the People have an unquestionable Right to frequent new Parliaments by ancient Usage ; and that this Usage has been confirmed by several Laws, which have been progressively made by our Ancestors, as often as they found it necessary to insist on this Essential Privilege.

' Parliaments were generally annual, but never continued longer than three Years, 'till the remarkable Reign of Henry VIII. He was a Prince of unruly Appetites, and of an Arbitrary Will : He was impatient of every Restraint ; the Laws of God and Man fell equally a Sacrifice as they stood in the Way of his Avarice, or disappointed his Ambition : He therefore introduced Long Parliaments, because he very well knew that they would become the proper Instruments of both ; and what a slavish Obedience they paid to all his Measures is sufficiently known.

' If we come to the Reign of King Charles I. we must acknowledge him to be a Prince of a contrary Temper ; he had certainly an innate Love for Religion and Virtue, and of Consequence for the Liberty of his Country. — But here lay the Misfortune, — He was led from his natural Disposition by Sycophants and Flatterers ; they advised him to neglect the calling of frequent Parliaments ; and therefore, by not taking the constant Sense of his People in what he did, he was work'd up into so high a Notion of Prerogative, that the Commons, in order to restrain it, obtain'd that independent fatal Power, which at last unhappily brought him to his most tragical End, and at the same Time subverted the whole Constitution. And I hope we shall learn this Lesson from it, never to compliment the Crown with any new or extravagant Powers, nor to deny

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the People those Rights which by ancient Usage they are intitled to ; but to preserve that just and equal Ballance, from which they will derive mutual Security ; and which, if duly observed, will render our Constitution the Envy and Admiration of the World.

King Charles II. naturally took a Surfeit of Parliaments in his Father's Time, and was therefore extremely desirous to lay them aside : But this was a Scheme impracticable. However, in Effect he did so : For he obtained a Parliament, which by its long Duration, like an Army of Veterans, became so exactly disciplin'd to his own Measures, that they knew no other Command but from that Person who gave them their Pay.

This was a safe and most ingenious Way of enslaving a Nation. It was very well known, that arbitrary Power, if it was open and avow'd, would never prevail here. The People were therefore amus'd with the specious Form of their Antient Constitution : It existed, indeed, in their Fancy ; but, like a mere Phantom, had no Substance or Reality in it ; for the Power, the Authority, the Dignity of Parliaments were wholly lost. This was that remarkable Parliament, which so justly obtained the opprobrious Name of 'The Pensioner Parliament, and was the Model from which, I believe, some later Parliaments have been exactly copied.

At the Time of the Revolution, the People made a fresh claim of their ancient Privileges ; and as they had so lately experienced the Misfortune of long and servile Parliaments, it was then Declared, that they should be held frequently. But it seems their full Meaning was not understood by this Declaration ; and therefore, as in every new Settlement, the Intention of all Parties should be specifically manifested, the Parliament never ceased struggling with the Crown 'till the Triennial Law was obtained : The Preamble of it, which the honourable Gentleman has recited, is extremely full and strong ; and in the Body of the Bill you will find the Word *Declared* before *Enacted*, by which I apprehend, that tho' this Law did not immediately take Place at the Time of the Revolution, it was certainly intended as declaratory of the first Meaning ; and therefore stands as Part of that original Contract, under which the Constitution was then settled. His Majesty's Title to the Crown is primarily derived from that Contract ; and if, upon a Review, there shall appear to be any Deviations from it, we ought to treat them as so many Injuries done to that Title. And I dare say, that this House, which has gone thro' so long a Series of Services to his Majesty, will at last be willing to revert to those original stated Measures of Government, to renew and strengthen that Title.

But

‘ But I think the Manner in which the Septennial Law was first introduced, is a very strong Reason why it should be repealed. People in their Fears have very often Recourse to desperate Expedients, which, if not cancelled in Season, will themselves prove fatal to that Constitution which they were meant to secure. Such is the Nature of the Septennial Law; it was intended only as a Preservative against a Temporary Inconveniency: The Inconveniency is removed, but the mischievous Effects still continue; for it not only altered the Constitution of Parliaments, but it extended that same Parliament beyond its Natural Duration; and therefore carries this most unjust Implication with it, That you may at any Time usurp the most indubitable, the most essential Privilege of the People, I mean that of chusing their own Representative. A Precedent of such a dangerous Consequence, of so fatal a Tendency, that I think it would be a Reproach to our Statute-book if that Law was any longer to subsist, which might record it to Posterity.

‘ This is a Season of Virtue and publick Spirit. Let us take Advantage of it, to repeal those Laws which infringe on our Liberties, and introduce such as may restore the Vigour of our Ancient Constitution.

‘ Human Nature is so very corrupt, that all Obligations lose their Force, unless they are frequently renewed. Long Parliaments become therefore independent of the People; and when they do so, there always happens a most dangerous Dependence elsewhere.

‘ It has of late been deny’d, that the People have a Right of remonstrating to us. It has been called an unjustifiable Controul upon the Freedom of our Proceedings. But then, let them have more frequent Opportunities of varying the Choice of their Representatives, that they may dismiss such who have unfaithfully withdrawn their Attention from them.

‘ The influencing Powers of the Crown are daily increasing, and it is highly requisite that Parliaments should be frequently responsible to their Constituents; that they should be kept under the constant Awe of acting contrary to their Interests. Modern History, I believe, will inform us, that some very dangerous Attempts upon our Liberties have been disappointed. Not so much from the Virtue of many in this House, as from the Apprehensions they may have had of an approaching Election.

‘ It is true, there is a Provision against such whose Places vacate their Seats here; but this is no Guard against Secret Pensioners and Placeholders. Give me Leave to say, that the Laws, with respect to them are very insufficient; and as we were not allowed to make them effectual, the People have no other Remedy but a new Election.

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I think that long Parliaments are a great Hardship upon those, who may be excluded out of this House, and ought reasonably to take their Turn : But seven Years is the Purchase of a Man's Life. It is equally hard upon such, whose private Fortunes will not admit them to engage in so long and painful a Service. It must be so to those who mean no View nor Advantage by it.

I think too, that nothing can be of greater Use to his Majesty than frequent new Parliaments ; that he may often take the fresh Sense of the Nation, and not be partially advised : For his Measures will always have a greater Weight both at Home and Abroad, the more generally he refers himself to the Opinion of his People.

A farther Mischief of long Parliaments is, that a Minister has Time and Opportunities of getting Acquaintance with Members, of practising his several Arts to win them into his Schemes. But this must be the Work of Time. Corruption is of so base a Nature, that at first Sight it is extremely shocking. Hardly any one has submitted to it all at once. His Disposition must be previously understood, the particular Bait must be found out, with which he is to be allured, and after all, it is not without many Struggles that he surrenders his Virtue. Indeed, there are some who will at once plunge themselves over Head and Ears into any base Action, but the generality of Mankind are of a more cautious Nature, and will proceed only by leisure Degrees. One or two perhaps have deserted their Colours the first Campaign, some have done it a second. But a great many, who have not that eager Disposition to Vice, will wait 'till a third.

For this Reason, short Parliaments have been less corrupt than long ones ; they are observed, like Streams of Water, always to grow more impure, the greater Distance they run from the Fountain-Head.

I am aware it may be said, that frequent new Parliaments will produce frequent new Expences, but I think quite contrary ; I am really of Opinion, that it will be a proper Remedy against the Evil of Bribery at Elections, especially as you have provided so wholesome a Law to co-operate upon these Occasions.

As to Bribery at Elections, whence did it arise ? Not from Country-Gentlemen, for they are sure of being chose without it ; it was the Invention of wicked and corrupt Ministers, who have from Time to Time led weak Princes into such destructive Measures, that they did not dare to rely upon the natural Representation of the People. Long Parliaments first introduced Bribery, because they were worth purchasing at any Rate ; Country-Gentlemen, who have

have only their private Fortunes to rely upon, and have no mercenary Ends to serve, are unable to oppose it, especially if at any Time the publick Treasure shall be unfaithfully squandered away to corrupt their Boroughs. Country Gentlemen, indeed, may make some weak Efforts, but as they generally prove unsuccessful, and the Time of a fresh Struggle is at so great a Distance, they at last grow faint in the Dispute, give up their Country for lost, and retire in Despair. Despair naturally produces Indolence, and That is the proper Disposition for Slavery. Ministers of State understand this very well, and are therefore unwilling to awaken the Nation out of its Lethargy by frequent Elections. They know that the Spirit of Liberty, like every other Virtue of the Mind, is to be kept alive only by constant Action, that it is impossible to enslave this Nation, whilst it is perpetually upon its Guard. Let Country Gentlemen then, by having frequent Opportunities of exerting themselves, be kept warm and active in their Contention for the Publick Good: This will raise that Zeal and Indignation which will at last get the better of those undue Influences, by which the Officers of the Crown, though unknown to the several Boroughs, have been able to supplant Country Gentlemen of great Characters and Fortune, who live in their Neighbourhood. I don't say this upon idle Speculation only. I live in a Country where it is too well known, and I'll appeal to many Gentlemen in the House, to more out of it (and who are so for this very Reason) for the Truth of my Assertion. It is a Sore which has been long eating into the most vital Part of our Constitution, and I hope the Time will come when you will probe it to the Bottom. For if a Minister should ever gain a corrupt Familiarity with our Boroughs, if he should keep a Register of them in his Closet, and, by sending down his Treasury mandates, should procure a spurious Representative of the People, the Offspring of his Corruption, who will be at all Times ready to reconcile and justify the most contradictory Measures of his Administration, and even to vote every crude indigested Dream of their Patron into a Law; if the Maintenance of his Power should become the sole Object of their Attention, and they should be guilty of the most violent Breach of Parliamentary Trust, by giving the King a discretionary Liberty of taxing the People without Limitation or Controul; the last fatal Compliment they can pay to the Crown: If this should ever be the unhappy Circumstance of this Nation, the People indeed may complain; but the Doors of that Place where their Complaints should be heard, will for ever be shut against them.

* The Power of the Crown is very justly apprehended to be growing to a monstrous, I should have said, too great a

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Size, and several Methods have been unsuccessfully proposed for restraining it within its proper Bounds.

‘ But our Disease, I fear, is of a complicated Nature, and I think that this Motion is wisely intended to remove the first and principal Disorder. Give the People their antient Right of frequent new Elections; that will restore the decayed Authority of Parliaments, and will put our Constitution into a natural Condition of working out her own Cure.

‘ Upon the whole, I am of Opinion, that I can’t express a greater Zeal for his Majesty, for the Liberties of the People, or the Honour and Dignity of this House, than by seconding the Motion which the honourable Gentleman has made you.’

Mr. Conduit spoke next:

Mr. Conduit.

SIR,

‘ As I happen to differ in Opinion from the two honourable Gentlemen who have spoke in favour of this Motion, I shall endeavour to follow them in every Thing they have said, and give my Reasons for not thinking the Arguments they have made Use of any way conclusive. They have talked a great deal of our antient Constitution, and seem, I think, mighty desirous of reverting to it; but if Gentlemen will consider the Disadvantages as well as the Advantages which attended every Part of our old Constitution, I believe they will not be so very fond of returning to it. I shall agree that there were such old Statutes as have been mentioned, relating to the frequent holding of Parliaments; but that Gentlemen may recollect a little the Nature of those Parliaments, and the Rights and Prerogatives which the Crown at that Time enjoyed, or at least pretended to, I shall beg Leave to read some Extracts which I have taken from one of our most judicious Writers about Parliamentary Affairs; I mean the famous Mr. Prynne, [*here he read some Extracts from his Writings, shewing the many Powers and Prerogatives which our Kings of old pretended to.*] Thus we may see that the Kings of England had antiently such Prerogatives as would be very inconsistent with those Privileges which the People of this Nation now enjoy. This was our old Constitution, and I should be glad to know, if it be to this Form of Government that Gentleman would not have us to return.

‘ The honourable Gentleman mentioned next the heavy Complaints that were made against King *Charles* the First, and his Son King *James* the Second, and the great Misfortunes which both these Princes fell into by not giving Ear to those Complaints: But I must take Notice, that there never

never was a Complaint against either of them for continuing the same Parliament too long; all the Complaints against both were, for not calling or holding any Parliament for several Years together; and this it was that brought all their Misfortunes upon them. And as to the long Parliament in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, it is certain that there was a great deal more of Reason to complain against their Conduct during the first Years of their sitting, than there was towards the latter End; so that no Part of the History of either of these three Reigns can afford so much as a plausible Argument in favour of the Motion now made to us.

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It has been alledged, that the Crown must always necessarily have a much greater Influence upon Septennial Parliaments, than it can ever have upon those which are chosen and continued only for three Years: But it is my Opinion, if ever the Crown should attempt, if ever any Ministry should be wicked enough to endeavour to gain a corrupt Influence over the Parliament, it will be as easy to gain it over the one Sort of Parliament as over the other. For if ever the Members chosen and returned, or the Majority of them, should be such as will stoop to Corruption, the Infection may be easily spread, the alluring Baits may be thrown out in seven Days as well as in seven Years; nor do I think it such a Difficulty or tedious Affair to find out who may be the Persons proper to be wrought on; that is a Knowledge that may be easily acquired after the Elections are over, and before it may be necessary for the Parliament to meet. Nay, if ever such a Thing should happen (which I hope never will) I am convinced it would be much more easy for such a Ministry to manage a Triennial Parliament, than it will ever be to manage a Septennial: for it is well known how strongly Men may be wrought on by Hopes and Promises; and it is certain, that by such Hopes and Promises, some might be kept firmly attach'd to a Court and Ministry for two or three Years, who could not be kept so for four or five. Therefore I must conclude, as Hopes and Promises are more easily given than Pensions or Bribes, it would be more easy for the Ministers to keep a Triennial Parliament depending upon them, than to keep a Septennial in any Sort of Dependence. And as to past Times, we by Experience find, that the Court has never gain'd much by long Parliaments; on the contrary, we have always found that the Party against the Court has gradually increas'd in Number by the long Continuance of the Parliament; insomuch that from a small Minority in the Beginning, they have often come up to very near an Equality, sometimes to a Majority before the End; so that if we reason either from the Nature of Mankind or from Experience, we must conclude, that the Liberties of

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the People are better secured by Septennial, than they can ever be by Triennial Parliaments.

The present Power of the Crown has been set in the most hideous Light, and the Number of Places now at the Disposal of the Crown, has been represented as of the most dangerous Consequence to the Independency of Parliament. But in this I must think that Gentlemen are likewise very much mistaken: I must even think, that the Disposal of those Posts and Places which are necessary for the Support of our Government, rather weakens the Influence and Interest of the Crown, both in the Parliament and in the Country; because it is certain, that there is never any Post or Place to be disposed of, for which there are not three or four Candidates at least; the Crown can give it but to one, and by giving it to any one of the four, the other three are disappointed and disobliged, by which the Crown very probably raises up three Enemies, for the Sake of securing one Friend, upon whom no very great Dependance can perhaps be had: For if it be a Place for Life, the Person who got it becomes then independent upon the Crown, and may soon come to be disobliged, by being refused some second Favour. This every Man who hears me, must by his own Experience be convinced of; and therefore though it be absolutely necessary for the executive Part of our Government which is lodged in the Crown, to have the Disposal of those Posts and Places, yet it cannot from thence be inferred, that the Power of the Crown is thereby greatly increased.

The honourable Gentlemen seemed to insinuate, that the principal Motive for passing the Septennial Bill now no longer subsisted; but in this also I must beg Leave to differ from them. 'Tis true, one of the Motives for passing that Bill was, the great Ferment which the Nation was then in; but this was not the principal Motive, and if it had been so, that Motive is very far from ceasing to subsist: Does not every Gentleman know what a Spirit of Discontent, nay I may say of Disaffection, was artfully raised over the whole Nation but last Year? And can any Gentleman say that that Spirit is totally subsided? Or can any Gentlemen believe that there was not a great deal of the Spirit of *Jacobitism* at the Bottom of those Discontents, which were then without any Ground, endeavoured to be raised? I am persuaded, that the Ferment the Nation is now in, and the Ferment it was in when the Septennial Bill was passed into a Law, proceed originally from the same Cause, therefore I must take the Motive for continuing it, to be now much the same with that which was then for enacting it; and as the Motive is now the same, I hope it will prevail with this House not to repeal a Law from which the Nation has received so great Benefit.

Mr.

Mr. Conduit was backed by Sir Thomas Robinson, as follows.

SIR,

I cannot content my self with barely giving a Negative to this Proposition; but must beg your Indulgence in offering a few Reasons which will induce me to be against it, and to make two or three Observations upon what has fallen from the honourable Gentlemen who have introduced and spoke in favour of it. In my opinion we should fix the Duration of Parliament to a shorter or a longer Period, according as it will promote the Welfare of the Nation, and support and strengthen our present Constitution; and when that is once fixed, the Consideration whether the Thing be popular, or unpopular, or whether it may be consonant to the Practice of our Ancestors, ought not to influence any Gentleman in giving his Vote. It has been said by the honourable Gentleman who spoke first, that the renewing of the Triennial Bill will lessen the Expences at Elections. I think nothing is more demonstrable, than that frequent Elections will always occasion frequent Expences, and other Irregularities, too notorious not to lie within the Compass of every Man's Observation; and that Men's Minds, which never fail to be inflamed in a Contest between two Parties, will always preserve those Heats in view of a quick Return of electing: That these and many other Inconveniences can be fairly charged on Triennial Elections, is indisputably true; and if Septennial Parliaments do not entirely remove these Evils, at least they mitigate their Influence. Gentlemen have urged, that Expences at Elections are voluntary; this is indeed in some measure true, but by this Alteration of the Law, the Temptation will never be at a great Distance; the Opportunity for Corruption, Idleness and Debauchery, will happen once in three Years, instead of once in seven; for I am afraid the Law we have lately made, which the honourable Gentleman who made the Motion has taken Notice of, cannot yet have produced the good Effect we expected from it: Reformations of any kind cannot be brought about on a sudden, especially in Things of this Nature, where the lower Class of the People are Parties concerned. Sir, the Law for Triennial Parliaments continued in Force for 22 Years: In that Time many Inconveniences were found from it; it was likewise found that in many respects it did not answer the End for which it was made. I think it lies upon those Gentlemen who are Advocates for this Proposition, and which ought to be the Foundation of their Arguments in Support of it, to shew us what the Evils are which are attendant upon Septennial Parliaments, and how they would be removed by the Alteration proposed. If they had done this,

Sir Thomas
Robinson.

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the last ever carried higher, or the other in greater Danger of being utterly subverted and destroyed. Were it necessary for the Point I am contending for, I would undertake to prove, that as long as he had any Power, he was daily attempting, by his Prerogative, to have made Parliaments useless; and therefore I shall easily agree with the honourable Gentleman, that he neglected calling frequent new Parliaments. But give me Leave farther to observe, that during that King's Reign, no Parliament was called, there was not so much as one in Being; no! not for 12 Years together; during which Time, History does not give the most favourable Account of him, with respect to his several Attempts upon the Liberties of his Subjects, which the honourable Gentleman has put a very handsome Gloss upon, by saying, that these Attempts were made by Advice of Sycophants: Whoever the Authors were, Sir, the Facts are true; and the Consequences, had they not been prevented, must have proved fatal to the Rights of the People. When I have said this, I would not have it understood, as if I approved of the Steps afterwards taken, by which that Prince was brought to his tragical and untimely End; but as his Fate ought to be a Warning to all future Princes, not to make any Incroachments upon the Liberties or Privileges of the Subject, so it ought to be a Warning to all those who are true Lovers of our Constitution to be extremely cautious of introducing any new Regulations or unnecessary Amendments. And this, Sir, I take to be a Lesson much more proper for the present Question, than that which my honourable Friend has been pleased to recommend to us from the Fate of that Prince; since the Question is not now about complimenting the Crown with any new or extravagant Powers, nor about denying the People those Rights, which they are entitled to by Law. I was surprised, Sir, to hear the long Parliament of K. Charles II, which continued 17 Years, so much as mentioned by those who are for shortening the Duration of Parliaments; for, in my Opinion, the Conduct of that Parliament, if it proves any thing, shews, that the long Duration of a Parliament does not necessarily make it entirely subservient to the Will of the Prince. Tho' that Parliament has since been treated with great Indignity, tho' I will not now take upon me to determine whether it deserved the Usage it has met with from some People; yet I think I may say, that a Majority of the Members thereof, especially towards the End of it, were steady in the Support of the Liberties of the People; and had not they made a noble Stand against the Attempts of the Crown in those Days, we should not now have been debating this Point. Thus, Sir, the instance of this Parliament, if it proves any thing, I say, proves that the Parliament, which sat the longest ever any did in England, could not be influenced by the Crown to come into Measures

Measures inconsistent with the Liberties of the People: And if Gentlemen will but recollect the Annals of that Parliament they will find, that it was more subservient to the Court, the first, second and third Years, than it was the sixth or seventh; and it was less so the eleventh or twelfth, than it was the ninth or tenth: And I agree with the honourable Gentleman, that the further it removed from its Original, the better Title the Members acquired to the Denomination of veteran Troops, which he has been pleased to compare them to; but this Title they merited for a Reason very different from what he has assigned: It was not because they knew no other Command but from the Person who gave them their Pay, but it was because they became every Day more and more observant of their Duty, more watchful over the Liberties of their Fellow-Subjects, and less tractable to the Measures of the Court; inso-much that at last, by their persevering in an honest Opposition to those Measures, they forced their own Dissolution. And this always has been, and always must be the Case, as to all Bodies of the same Men, when long kept together, and attempted to be seduced by Bribery and Corruption; for few Men are so entirely abandoned to Shame, but that sooner or later they will be actuated by the love of Virtue and publick Good, which will at last make them stubbornly resist the profligate Court against the Liberties of their Country: And this was certainly the Case as to that Parliament, otherwise King Charles would not have so easily parted with a Parliament he had been so long and with so much Expence endeavouring to form to his own arbitrary Views. Therefore, Sir, if any Argument is to be drawn from this long Parliament, it may certainly be made use of as the strongest Reason, why a Septennial Parliament should be preferred to a Triennial.

As a farther Proof, Sir, that the Ballance of Power in the State is demonstrably more in favour of the People in a Parliament that hath its Duration for seven Years, than in one chosen every third Year; and that the Crown will always have less Influence in a Septennial than a Triennial Parliament: Let us but recollect what has happened ever since the Septennial Law took place. As the honourable Gentleman who spoke last has already observed, does not Experience shew us that every Session will increase an opposing Party? Has it not been hitherto always found, that the Party against the Court has in every fifth or sixth Session been more in Number than it was the second or third? And as no Step has been made to increase either the Prerogative or Power of the Crown ever since Septennial Parliaments have had a Being, why should we go about

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to make an Alteration in that Part of our Constitution, from which we have never yet felt the least Inconvenience; Might not therefore a Desire to revert back to the Practice of our Ancestors in this Particular, be compared to a Man in his full Growth and Strength desiring to return back to his Childhood! It has indeed been insinuated by both the honourable Gentlemen, who have spoke on the other side of the Question, that undue Influence has been attempted in Elections; that Money has been sent down from the Treasury to gain Returns from Boroughs in the Country; by which the Elections have been rendered so expensive to the Country Gentlemen, that it is with great Difficulty they can, from their private Fortunes, support such Expence, or withstand such Influence: and this is indeed the principal Argument I have heard made use of in support of this Question. Tho' I am no ways privy to, nor do I believe that any such Practices have been lately attempted; yet upon this Occasion, Sir, I will for Argument's sake suppose it to be true; I will suppose that the Court does intermeddle in Elections, and that Sums of Money have been sent into the Country for that purpose; but how this comes to be owing to Septennial Parliaments, I cannot comprehend; would it not be as much in the Power of the Court to meddle in the Elections for a Triennial, as in those for a Septennial Parliament? And if a Country Gentleman can scarce bear up against these Practices when he has six Years respite to recover the Expences and Trouble he may have been put to by such Attempts on his Borough; for God's sake! how will it stand with him when the Battle is to be fought every three Years? Surely he will be then much less able to bear such Expences, or to withstand such Influence; and, therefore, if the Court ever has endeavoured, or if it ever should endeavour, to influence Elections by the Force of Money, that Influence would be much more dangerous in Triennial than in Septennial Elections. From whence I must be of Opinion, if this Question should succeed, it might in time more effectually establish the absolute Power of the Crown, and destroy the Liberties of the People, than any other Method that could be thought of. The worthy Gentleman who made the Motion has told us, that an Annuity for seven Years, is more valuable than an Annuity for three, and from thence he seemed to infer, that a Septennial Parliament must be more expensive than a Triennial, in the same proportion as an Annuity for seven Years deserves a better Consideration than an Annuity for three: But he does not consider that a Parliament for seven Years is above twice the Duration of one for three; so that if Triennial Parliaments were to come in the place of Septennial,

Septennial; a Man must be thrice chosen before he can continue so long in this House, as he would do were he to be chosen for seven Years at once; and it is certain that the Expences or the Purchase (if with him we propose such Purchases) of three or even of two Elections for Triennial Parliaments, will always amount to more than the Expences or the Purchase of one Election for a Septennial.

If then the Expensiveness of Elections be one of the Evils attendant upon Septennial Parliaments, it is certain, the changing of them into Triennial, will be so far from removing that Evil, that it will necessarily increase it. And I believe some Gentlemen will, in another Particular, find their Expectations as little answered by the present Motion: I mean, that they will not find it so popular a Motion among the generality of Electors, as some of them may imagine. It may indeed please those of the Populace who have no Votes, who are fond of Noise and Bustle, and who would be glad of any Change by which they might have a more frequent Chance to get drunk and be idle. It may also be agreeable to the lower and meaner sort of our Electors, who have heretofore perhaps too often made their Market upon such Occasions; but to the honest Shopkeeper, and the quiet and fair Trader, who have no other Views but to gain a comfortable Subsistence, by carrying on their respective Trades, and to the better kind of our Freeholders, and to the Gentry in general; to all those sorts of Men, in short, whose Inclinations we ought to have the chief Regard to, the proposing of this Bill will be found, I believe, not to be a very proper Way of paying court. The worthy Gentlemen, Sir, who have spoke on the other Side of the Question, make a very partial Use of our antient Constitution, when they plead for a shorter Duration of Parliaments; because in former Times, Instances may be found of frequent Elections; but forget at the same time to remind us of the different Situation of our Affairs, both at Home and Abroad. Must not proper Allowances be made for the several Changes which have since happened in our Constitution, and the different Relations we now bear to foreign Nations! For without a Parity of Circumstances, Gentlemen cannot reasonably expect an Equality of Consequences. Formerly Parliaments sat but ten, fifteen, or twenty Days, and dispatched all the Business they had before them in that Time; we now sit four or five Months, and find sufficient Employment: The Reason of this Difference is obvious; our Government has since gone through so many Changes, and the Riches and Commerce of this Nation have so much increased, that this House is now engaged in a much larger Circle of Business; and at the same time hath asserted a

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Right to several Powers in the State, which, till within these 100 Years, the Crown has often contested. May not Gentlemen as well infer, because some Parliaments in former Times have sat but 20 Days, that we ought now to follow their Practice in this Particular, as to plead for a shorter Duration of Parliaments, because there may be found Instances of annual Elections in remote Ages? Would Gentlemen, Sir, who speak so favourably of antient Times, have our Parliaments brought again to be entirely upon the same Foot they were formerly? Surely, No! As the Law now stands, the Crown cannot possibly prolong a Parliament beyond seven Years; and as the Affairs of the Publick are now disposed, it must necessarily meet every Year. Formerly the Crown could keep a Parliament in Being without any Limitation of Time for their Dissolution, and, as I have said before, did sometimes prevent them, though elected, from ever meeting; nay, at other Times, there has been for many Years together a total Intermission of Parliaments. I therefore really think, no one can make the least Comparison on this Head; at least I suppose the worthy Gentlemen would not be willing to return to the Practice of preceding Times in these Particulars. In short, Sir, I think the Septennial Act as well adapted to our present Constitution, as well calculated to answer the Purposes and secure the Freedom of Parliaments, as any Regulation that can be made; and I do not know any one particular Instance in which our Liberty and Constitution have been more strengthened and improved since the Revolution, than by those Laws which have been made relative to the Chusing, Sitting, and Duration of Parliaments. Before I leave this Subject, I must take this Opportunity to return my Thanks to the Honourable Gentleman who called for the reading of the Septennial Act, because the Preamble puts me in mind of our being indebted to that Law for the Prevention of a second Rebellion: I am convinced, that it was to that seasonable Alteration we then owed the Preservation of our Tranquillity, and perhaps every Thing that is dear to us; for the Minds of the People were at that Time so exasperated and inflamed, the Spirit of Jacobitism was got to such a Height in the Nation, that had an Election come on, after the first Parliament of the late King ought to have expired by the Triennial Act, 'tis not hard to say what fatal Consequences might have ensued. But I neither mention this as thinking it entirely our present Situation, or to draw an Argument from thence, in support of what I am contending for; however I must say, that the recollecting how much we owe to the Septennial Act, makes me the more unwilling to part with it. 'Tis like Friendship

in private Life, where we have once established a thorough good Opinion of a Man, and have received great Favours from him, it is with Difficulty, it is with great Concern, we are prevailed on to give Credit to any Thing that may tend to his Disadvantage. Many Instances might be brought, Sir, to shew the Inconveniences that would attend the Success of the Bill now proposed to us; but as I have already taken up much more of your Time than I at first intended, I shall only mention one, which is, The great Hindrance it might be in the Dispatch of our Foreign Negotiations. As we have been within Doors often told of Reports without Doors, I must take the Liberty to mention one which we have heard both within and without. Have we not often heard without Doors, have not we been told in a former Debate in this House, that several Letters have been lately sent to foreign Courts, in order to discourage them from treating with us at this critical Juncture, by assuring them that the next ensuing Parliament will be of a Complexion very different from this. I cannot in the least suppose that such Letters were either written or concerted by any one within these Walls; but I must presume the Authors are by this Time convinced of their Error, since I find so much Pains has lately been taken, and so much Rhetorick employed, both in Weekly and other Papers, to persuade us of the Inconvenience of the Septennial Act, and the Necessity for repealing it; from whence I conclude, that those Gentlemen who were the Authors of such Letters, begin now to see that they will be disappointed in their Expectations; and in order to make Amends for this Disappointment, they are for repealing the Septennial Act, that they may have a fresh Opportunity of taking another Trial four Years hence. But be this as it will, it is certain, that what I have just mentioned may be practised, and will always be an Inconvenience and a Hindrance in the carrying on of our foreign Affairs, towards the End of a Septennial Parliament: And shall we by a new Law give an Opportunity and a Temptation to the Enemies of the Government, to repeat those and such like Practices and Suggestions, to the great Prejudice of the Nation, at the end of every three Years. Before I conclude, Sir, I cannot help observing, that during the seven Years I have sat in Parliament I have heard many Questions introduced into this House which have very much surprized me. Among others I have heard a Proposition made, which, as it appeared to me, would have made the Army useless upon any Emergency, when we might have had the greatest Occasion for their Service, I have heard another Motion for making a perpetual Law to regulate an annual Constitution, which would indeed

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have had a quite different Effect from the former ; for in Process of Time this last Question, had it succeeded, might have made the Army our Sovereign, and King, Lords and Commons, insignificant : And the Proposition now before us, would, in my Opinion, tend to weaken our greatest Security ; I mean the Landed Interest of the Kingdom, by giving them frequent and unnecessary Temptations to extraordinary Expences, and might farther introduce new Calamities and Confusions into this Nation. What other Question can follow to keep Rank with those, I cannot divine ; but the Spirit of Reformation seems to be now so very much the Fashion, I do not doubt but fertile Imaginations will always find, and will never be at a loss for, popular Topicks to introduce. ——— No State, Sir, was ever so exactly framed in all its Parts, as not to make new Laws sometimes necessary to remedy the Evils which Time and Corruption may bring upon it ; and for this Reason every State is invested with a Power of altering or repealing old Laws, and substituting new in their stead, where those existing are found to be deficient : In this I shall agree with the Honourable Gentlemen ; but give me Leave farther to observe, that this Power may be made use of to the Overthrow as well as the Support of the Constitution : And therefore when we proceed to the Exercise of this Part of the Legislative Power, especially in Things which relate to the very Fundamentals of our Constitution, the worthy Gentlemen will, I hope, agree with me, that we ought to use it with the greatest Prudence and Caution. ——— At present, Sir, I think our Constitution is so well regulated, in all its Parts, the Scales are so justly poised, as not to want any new modelling, nor any additional Weight to be thrown into the other Scale : We must be all so sensible of the Happiness we enjoy under our Constitution, as now established, that our chief Concern and Study ought to be how to preserve it in the happy Situation it is now in ; and if we can transmit it to our Posterity in the same Lustre and Perfection we now clearly perceive it to be in ; our Successors will have no just Reason to accuse the present Generation of having made an ill Use of that great Trust which is reposed in every Man who has a Voice in this Place. All Changes, tho' never so well intended, are hazardous ; but as the Change now proposed appears to me, I think it would certainly have a quite different Effect from what those worthy Gentlemen expect who are the Advocates for it : I am persuaded, that instead of amending or improving, it would weaken the Constitution ; and therefore, I think it a Duty I owe my Country to give my Dissent to it, in this publick manner.

Sir

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Sir Thomas Robinson having done speaking, Lord Noel Somerfet stood up, and spoke thus,

SIR,

Though the honourable Gentleman who made this Motion, and the honourable Gentleman who seconded it, have supported it in so strong and handsome a Manner, that an Attempt to add any Thing to what they have said, may be looked on as Presumption; yet I cannot help declaring my Approbation of the Motion in the best and most publick Manner I am able.

Lord Noel
Somerfet.

The honourable Gentleman who read you a long Extract out of Master Prynne, seemed rather, in my Opinion, to divert than instruct the House; and though I could not join with Gentlemen in their Mirth upon so serious a Debate, yet I must own I cannot conceive to what purpose that long Extract was read to us upon the present Occasion: Nor can I see what the Question now before us has to do with the Prerogative of the Crown, either as now enjoyed, or as claimed in any Time past. Because Gentlemen have mentioned our old Constitution, and have taken notice of a particular Regulation with respect to the holding of Parliaments, which was then in force, and which they desire to be re-established; is it from thence to be inferred, that they desire to restore, in all its Parts, our ancient Constitution, as it stood at any Period of Time? No, when we talk of our old Constitution, with Regard to any Amendment or Alteration now proposed, we are to pick out those Customs, which appear to be good, and which ought to be restored; and we are to reject those which appear to have been bad.

The Question now before us, is not whether our Constitution be now in the general better regulated than it ever was at any former Period: The Question now before us is particular; it is, Whether our Constitution, with respect to the holding of Parliaments, was ever under a better Regulation than it is at present? And that it was so, seems to me to be demonstrable from the very Nature and Design of Parliaments; for this House is properly the grand Inquest of the Nation, they are to represent the Grievances of the People to their Sovereign; and the People are always to choose proper Representatives for that Purpose: that Choice ought therefore to be annual, because the Person that may be a proper Representative one Year, may before the next, or at least very soon after, be concerned in making the People suffer those very Grievances which they want to complain of; and surely such Person would not be then a proper Representative of the People.

This

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' This was our old Constitution, with respect to the holding of Parliaments : They were, or at least ought to have been, not only annually held, but annually chosen. It is well known that Prorogations are but of a late Date ; they were first introduced to favour the Arbitrary Views of some of our ambitious Kings ; and as they owed their Origin to such a corrupt Fountain, I am persuaded we never can expect any Good from them. However, the Question now before us does not go far, nor are we obliged to have recourse to remote Ages for a Precedent for what is now proposed. When we now talk of our old Constitution, we are to consider it as it was settled and reformed at the Revolution, and at that Time, as has been before observed, the Patrons of Liberty did not think their Work was compleat, without having the Point fully and clearly settled ; and therefore they were never at Rest, till they had obtained that very Law which is now desired to be restored : For this Reason I cannot but think that Gentlemen have given themselves a very unnecessary Trouble in explaining to us so particularly the History of former Reigns, or the Complaints against former Kings ; for the not holding any Parliament at all, or the continuing the same Parliament for a great Number of Years is in Effect the same : in the last Case, as well as the first, the People have no Opportunity of having their Grievances either represented or redressed, because after a Number of Years the Members may either become unacquainted with, and regardless of the Grievances of the People, or they may themselves have so great a Hand in those Grievances, that for their own selfish Ends they will prevent their being redressed.

It has been said, that the restoring of this Law would create great Heats, and raise dangerous Contentions in the Nation. If it were a new Law, a Law which we had never any Experience of, this Argument might have some Weight ; but the direct contrary of this is known to be true from the Experience we had of it, while it was allowed to continue in Force. Besides, this is one of those Arguments that prove too much ; for it is as good an Argument for us to continue ourselves for seven Years longer, or indeed for a perpetual Parliament, as it is for a Septennial : And it is an Argument that has in all Countries been made use of for subverting the Liberties of the People. In all free Countries there must now and then happen some little Feuds and Divisions among the People, which ambitious wicked Men have used all their Cunning and all their Eloquence to set in the most terrible Light, and under the Pretence of preventing those

those Feuds and Divisions, have in most Countries prevailed upon the People to give up, or at least to allow themselves to be robbed of those Privileges which were their only Defence against Tyranny and Arbitrary Power.

Another Objection against this Motion is, that a Septennial Parliament is necessary for establishing and confirming our Credit abroad. If this be yet to do, if our Credit abroad remains yet to be either established or confirmed, I will say that we have lately spent many Millions, and have made many Treaties to very little purpose. Is not this likewise an Argument for settling the Duration of our Parliaments at a much longer Term? For if our Credit abroad were any Way strengthen'd by a Parliament to continue for seven Years, would it not be much more so by a Parliament to continue for Seven Times Seven? But this is not the Case; our foreign Neighbours judge better of the Condition and Circumstances of this Nation, than some of ourselves seem to do; our Credit among them depends on their believing that there is an Union and mutual Confidence between the King and his People; and is there any Thing can tend more towards lessening their Belief in this Respect, than their hearing that the King does not incline to trust his People with a frequent Choice of their own Representatives? Will not every Man from thence conclude, that either the People are disaffected, or that the Government is pursuing such Measures as they think may not be agreeable to the generality of the People? And I believe it will be allow'd that such a Notion would not contribute much towards establishing or confirming our Credit abroad.

While no Measures are pursued but such as are for the Honour and Interest of the Nation, it is certain that a Parliament sent here by the free Choice of the People for three Years, or even but for one, would be as ready to confirm those Measures as a Parliament sent here for seven Years. But if ever it should hereafter happen, that Measures, even destructive to the Nation, should be pursued, only to save and support a falling Minister, or by Way of temporary Expedient only, to put off the evil Day during his Time; he might indeed have a better Chance to get such Measures confirmed and approved of by the Members of a Septennial Parliament, who had such a long Term to reap the Fruits of their servile Compliance, than he could have to get such Measures confirmed or approved of by the Members of an Annual or Triennial Parliament, who must soon return to the People for their Approbation or Disapprobation of what they had done: And a Parliamentary Acquittal would be of much more Consequence in the first Case

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than in the last ; for if an Annual or Triennial Parliament should be servile enough to approve of Measures contrary to the general Sense of the Nation, the People would soon have an Opportunity of doing themselves Justice in a new Parliament ; but if the People were to have no such Opportunity for seven Years, it might then be out of their Power.

‘ It has been said, that frequent new Parliaments would produce frequent Changes in our Administration, so that we never could steadily pursue any Measure Foreign or Domestick. As to Changes in our Administration, if Triennial or Annual Parliaments should produce Triennial or Annual Ministers, it would give me no great Concern, and I dare say, the Nation very little Uneasiness. But how this should make us unsteady or unsettled in the pursuit of our publick Measures, foreign or domestick, I cannot, indeed, conceive ; for if the Measures were apparently for the Good of the Publick, the New Ministers would, doubtless, for their own Honour and Safety, pursue them as steadily as the Old could have done ; and if the Old had enter’d on Measures inconsistent with the Good of the Nation, here the Change of the Ministry would be lucky for us : So that, if nothing else could be said in favour of the Motion, this very Argument would be sufficient with me to give my Vote for it.’

The Honourable Mr. John Cornwallis spoke next against the Motion.

SIR,

Mr. J. Cornwallis.

‘ I have indeed heard some Mention made without Doors of the Proposition now under our Consideration ; but I never expected to have heard it moved in this House, especially at a Time when the Circumstances of Europe ought to prevent our attempting any thing that may in the least tend towards weakening our Constitution, or unsettling the Measures of his Majesty’s Government. As for my own part, Sir, the Question can no ways affect me : Let it be agreed to, or let it be rejected, as to my particular Circumstances they will remain the same ; but as we are not to regard our private or particular Interest, but that of the whole Community, in every Question that arises in this House ; I therefore think I am obliged not only to give my Vote against this Question, but to give my Reason, at least the principal Reason which induces me to be against it : and it is this, That, in my Opinion, the Motion seems calculated for no other End but to continue that Ferment and that Spirit of Division and Disaffection which was so artfully raised in the Nation, upon a late memorable Occasion,

Occasion, and which has already almost subsided, and must entirely subside, as soon as the People shall have come to their Senses, so as to be able to judge coolly and impartially about that Affair. But this they could never come to do, if the present Motion should succeed; the Nation would be kept always in a Ferment, the Divisions about one Election would no sooner be over, than those about another would begin, and the Passions of the People would be every Year screwed up by some new Art, in order to support or render successful the ambitious Views of some private Men. This would of course very much weaken his Majesty's Government, and diminish his Influence in all foreign Negotiations; for which Reason I shall most heartily give my Vote against the Motion now made to us.

After him Colonel Bladen rose up, and said,

SIR,

I cannot give my Assent to the Question now in your Hand. The Repeal of the Septennial Law is a Motion I cannot in my Conscience agree to; for tho' one of the Motives for enacting that Law does not at present exist in such an apparent manner, as it did at the Time it was enacted, yet it cannot be said, that even that Motive has now entirely ceased; I wish with all my Heart it could be justly said, that there is not now a Jacobite or disaffected Person in the Nation; but I am afraid no such thing can be justly said for many Years to come, and therefore even that Motive, which the honourable Gentlemen, who have spoke upon the other side of the Question, have said to be the only Motive for enacting this Law, has not yet entirely ceased: But, Sir, this was not the sole and only Motive for enacting that Law; if Gentlemen had given Attention to the Preamble of that Law, they would have found many other Reasons mentioned for enacting it, which are now as strong for continuing it as they were then for enacting it.

It has been said, Sir, that this Law has been attended with several Inconveniences, which I cannot say I was ever sensible of; and I think they have not yet been made sufficiently appear by any of the Gentlemen who have spoke in this Debate; but, granting that there were any such, is this a Time to repeal a Law which has been productive of so much Good, and which so much strengthens his Majesty's Government, only because it has been found to be attended with a few trifling Inconveniences? I cannot think that the Gentlemen who talk at this rate are so ignorant of human Affairs, as they now pretend to be; they must certainly know, that all human Institutions are attended with Inconveniences, and all that the wisest of Men can do, is to

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chuse those Regulations which are attended with the fewest and the least dangerous Inconveniences, and which tend most to the Security and the Happiness of their native Country: When Gentlemen consider in this Light the Septennial Law which now exists, and the Triennial Law which was for good Reasons repealed, they will, I believe, at all Times, but especially at the present, give the Preference to the former.

Let us, Sir, but consider the present Situation of the Affairs of Europe; Italy swallowed up by France and her Allies; numerous Armies on the Rhine threatening to penetrate into the very Bowels of the Empire; our old Allies, the Dutch, reduced to the low Ebb of begging a Neutrality from France, for their Barrier in Flanders. In such a State of foreign Affairs, is it to be imagined, that Great Britain can remain quiet, or indulge herself in a State of Ease and Security! No, surely, Sir, we must concert proper Measures to prevent the Balance of Power in Europe from being quite overturned: We must look in Time to the Preservation of that Balance which has already cost this Nation so much Blood and Treasure; and, at such a Conjunction ought we to repeal that Law which strengthens his Majesty's Hands, which gives Steadiness to his Councils, and adds Weight to his Negotiations with foreign Powers? Or shall we substitute in its Place a Law which would throw the Nation every two or three Years into such Distractions and Confusions as Elections are always attended with?

Would not this, Sir, be giving the Enemies of his Majesty's Government at home, in Conjunction with his Enemies abroad, so many Opportunities of distressing his Majesty's Government, of throwing all Things into Confusion, and perhaps of destroying that Establishment, and that Family to which we owe the Preservation of all that is dear to us? God forbid, Sir, that this House should be so much wanting in that Duty they owe to his Majesty, in that Duty they owe to their Country, as to do any thing that might tend to the distressing of his Government, or to the disturbing the Peace and Quiet of their Country. I hope the House will excuse me for taking up so much of their Time: I could say a great deal more against the Motion now before us, but the Subject has been so much exhausted, and every Argument in favour of it so fully answered by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, who spoke early in this Debate, that I think I need not now add any thing farther, but shall most heartily give my Vote against it.

Mr.

Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne spoke next :

SIR,

' I am surpris'd to hear it insinuated by the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, as if the Motion now before us was made with a View to distress his Majesty's Government, or to disturb the Peace of the Nation. Such an Insinuation is really not treating the Gentlemen, who have spoke in favour of this Motion, with that Candour which one Gentleman has reason to expect from another in this House; nor, indeed, can I look upon it as any Compliment made to his Majesty or his Government: It is not to be doubted but that his Majesty, in all the Measures he pursues, looks a little further than this House. It is not to be questioned but that his Majesty looks for the Approbation of the Generality of his People, as well as the Majority of his Parliament; and while his Measures are approved of by the Generality of his People, frequent Elections cannot surely bring any Distress upon his Government, but will greatly strengthen it, by shewing frequently to his Majesty, and to the whole World, the true Sense of the Generality of the People. As to the Peace of the Nation, we know, by Experience, that it was as well preserved by Triennial Parliaments, as ever it was by Septennial, so that the agreeing to this Motion cannot disturb the Peace, but the rejecting it may very probably have such an Effect; for the Generality of the People so earnestly desire to have Triennial Parliaments restored to them; that the refusing to comply with their Desire cannot but increase the Number of the Dissatisfied, which may at last throw all Things into Confusion, and may perhaps destroy that Establishment, to which we owe every thing that is dear to us.

' I shall readily grant, Sir, that ever since we have had Septennial Parliaments, our Elections have been generally attended with Distractions and Confusions; but I cannot allow that this would be the Case if our Elections were Annual, or even Triennial; they would then be carried on with much less Heat and Animosity; for every Man knows that the Disturbances about Elections have been much greater since the Septennial Bill took place, than ever they were before: and I would gladly ask Gentlemen, if before that Time it was ever known that the Sollicitations and Contentions about Elections began two Years before the chusing of a new Parliament, which is known to be the Case at present over the whole Kingdom, and which always must necessarily be the Case; it being natural for Men to contend with more Vigour and with more Heat

Mr. Watkin
Williams
Wynne.

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for a Post either of Honour or Profit, that is to be enjoyed for seven Years, than for one that is to be enjoyed but for one, or for three.

Then, Sir, as to Bribery and Corruption at Elections, I am sure it has very much increased since the Septennial Law took place. It is a natural Consequence of lengthening the Time of a Parliament's Continuance; a Consequence so natural, that I am surprised to find it so much mistaken as it seems to be, by some Gentlemen who have spoken upon the other side of the Question. It is certain, Sir, that Bribery will never be made use of at any Election, but by a Man who has not a sufficient natural Interest in the Place where he declares himself a Candidate; and by such we may expect it will always be made use of, as far as it can be done with Safety, if the Candidate has but the least Hopes of succeeding by such dishonourable Means. Where there happens a Competition, every Elector has a natural Byass to vote for one Man rather than another, and every Elector will vote according to his natural Byass, if he is not bought off: whoever endeavours to buy him off, must certainly come up to his Price, and this Price will be higher or lower, according to the Elector's Honour and Circumstances, and the natural Byass he has for the other Candidate. A great many Men may be perhaps bought off with 100 or 1000 Guineas, who, if half that Sum were offered, would spurn it away with an honest Disdain. I hope, Sir, there are a great many Electors in this Kingdom, whose Honour, upon such Occasions, is above the Power of any such corrupt Temptations, but that there are likewise a great many who may be bought, is a Fact which, I believe, no Gentleman in this House will dispute; and in this View let us examine the Difference between Triennial and Septennial Parliaments.

Give me Leave then to suppose two Gentlemen set up in Opposition to each other, for representing one of our little Boroughs in Parliament; one of them a Country Gentleman, of a great natural Interest in the Place, the other a Citizen of London, or a Place-man, not near equal to him in Interest, but depending entirely upon the Money he is able to lay out: Suppose the Citizen, or Place-man, comes to a Calculation, and finds that it will cost him at least 3000 l. to buy the Country Gentleman out of his Interest in that Borough; if the Parliament were to continue but for three Years, he would, very probably, resolve not to be at such an Expence, and so would refrain from being guilty of the Crime of corrupting his Countrymen; but when the Parliament is to continue for seven Years, he may as probably resolve to be at that Charge. Thus, by Corruption

tion he may get a Seat in this House, and it is to be feared, that he who comes in here by Corruption, will not walk out with clean Hands.

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Gentlemen are very much mistaken if they imagine, that the Price of an Elector depends upon the Duration of a Parliament, or that a Man who sells his Vote for 100 Guineas at an Election of a Septennial Parliament, would sell his Vote for the half of that Sum, if the Parliament to be chosen were to continue only for three Years. No, Sir, there are very few of this sort of Electors, who think of Futurity; the present Offer is the Temptation, and the only Temptation which can be of any weight with them: Besides, they cannot depend upon having the like Offer made them at the next Election; and 50 Guineas ready Money, with an uncertain Hope of having 50 more three Years hence, is not surely so great a Price as 100 Guineas ready down: The natural Interest of the Country Gentlemen, and the Honour of the Electors, are what the Dealers in Corruption have to contend with, and against these a small Price cannot be so prevalent as one a little higher. Some may, perhaps, be corrupted by a small Price, but certainly the higher it is, the greater will the Numbers be that are tempted to yield to it; and as a Man may give a higher Price at the Election for a Septennial Parliament, than he can do at one for an Annual or Triennial, therefore the greater the Numbers will be of those who yield to his Temptation, the more he may depend upon Corruption; and the more it is to be depended on, the more general and the more frequent will it certainly be. From hence it appears evident, that the Increase of Bribery and Corruption is as natural a Consequence of Septennial Parliaments, as any one Thing can be conceived to be the Consequence of another.

There is no way, Sir, of effectually preventing Corruption, but by putting it out of the Power of any Man to corrupt: There is no corrupting any Man but by coming up to his Price; therefore the only way of putting it out of the Power of any Man to corrupt, is to put it out of the Power of any Man to come up to the Price of any Number of Electors; and this can only be done by making our Elections frequent: The more frequent the better. It is certain, a Gentleman who enjoys a good Pension for seven Years, is more able to give a high Price, than if he had enjoyed that Pension but for one Year, or even for three; and he will more willingly give a high Price, when he is thereby to purchase the Continuance of that Pension for seven Years, than when he is to purchase it only for one or for three Years. This, Sir, is

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so evident, that I am astonished to hear it controverted within these Walls.

‘ If our Parliaments were annual, it would be impossible for Place-men or Pensioners to save as much yearly as would be sufficient to bribe Country Gentlemen out of their Interest, and the Electors out of their Honesty ; which I am afraid is a Practice now too frequent in many Parts of this Kingdom : How can it otherwise be imagined that the People would chuse Persons they never saw, Persons they perhaps never heard of, in Opposition to Gentlemen who live in the Neighbourhood ; Gentlemen who give them daily Employment, by buying in their Shops and Markets all the Manufactures and Provisions they have use for in their Families, and Gentlemen whose Ancestors have, perhaps, often represented that very Place in Parliament with great Honour and universal Approbation ? I remember, Sir, I was told by a Gentleman who is now dead, and therefore I may name him, I mean Mr. Spencer Cowper, afterwards one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, he told me himself that he had never been in the Borough he represented in Parliament, nor had ever seen or spoke with any of his Electors ; and I believe I could, without much Difficulty, name some who are now in the same Situation. Can such, Sir, be called the Representatives of the People, or can it be supposed that they are chosen by Means of that natural Interest by which every Man ought to hold his Seat in this House ?

‘ The Parliament, Sir, is the great Council of the Nation, and the Business of this House in particular is to represent to his Majesty the Grievances of the People, to inform his Majesty if any of his Ministers or Officers makes an ill use of the Power he delegates to them, and to impeach and prosecute such evil Ministers. Now I would be glad to know who are the most proper Representatives for these Purposes, Gentlemen who have large Properties in the Country, who are independent of the Ministers and Officers of the Crown, and who by living in the Country are perfectly acquainted with the Circumstances of the People ; or Gentlemen who for their chief Support depend upon the Ministers and Officers of the Crown, who know nothing of those they represent, and are not only ignorant of their true Interests, but are really indifferent about their Welfare. I hope it will not be controverted, but that the first sort of Gentlemen are the most proper Representatives of the People ; and if so, Annual or Triennial Parliaments are better than Septennial, because there is a greater Probability of their being chiefly composed of such Gentlemen.

* As Bribery and Corruption, therefore, is a natural Consequence of long Parliaments, as it must always increase in Proportion as the Term for the Parliament's Continuance is prolonged, I am persuaded that all those who are against Bribery and Corruption, will join with me in voting for the Restitution of Triennial Parliaments. It is not the Expence of an Election that Country Gentlemen are to be afraid of; the most extravagant Entertainments that a Stranger in the Country could give, would have but little weight, if to these he did not add downright Bribery; and even those Bribes must be so high, as to overbalance the natural Interest of the Country Gentleman, as well as the Honesty of the greatest Part of the Electors: As these Bribes cannot be made so high for a Triennial Parliament, as they may be for a Septennial, they cannot be so prevalent among the Electors; and therefore a Gentleman, who depends upon nothing but his natural Interest, will always have a better Lay for representing his Country in a Triennial Parliament, than he can have for representing it in one which is to continue for seven Years; for which Reason I cannot but think that every Gentleman, who has a mind that his Posterity shall depend for their Seats in Parliament, upon the natural Interest they may have in their respective Countries, and not upon the Frowns or the Favours of the Minister for the Time being, must necessarily be for our returning to our former Constitution in this respect. This, Sir, is, in my Opinion, absolutely necessary, and it must be soon done, otherwise Country Gentlemen, tired out with contending against those who purchase their Elections, perhaps with the very Money which the Country Gentlemen are obliged to pay out of their Estates in publick Duties and Taxes, will at last have nothing to do but to sit down and bemoan the Fate of their Country: but their Complaints will then be to very little purpose, for the Doors of that Place, where the Groans of the People ought to be heard, will then be shut against them. We may depend on it that those, who obtain their Seats in this House by Ministerial Influence, will, while here, be directed in all their Proceedings by the same sort of Influence, and by none other.

* To conclude, Sir, I am very certain that there is nothing would be more agreeable to the People in general, than the Repeal of the Septennial Law; and therefore I, as one of the Representatives of the People chosen without Bribery or Corruption, and as one who has nothing to consider but the Interest of those I represent, shall readily vote for the Motion.

Mr. Willes.

Then Mr. Willes* spoke against the Motion.

SIR,

‘ I have given all possible Attention to what has been said by Gentlemen, on both sides of this Question ; and I must confess, I cannot yet see any manner of Reason for agreeing to the Motion. Gentlemen have been pleased to put us in mind of our ancient Constitution ; but it has been so often varied and altered, that it will be found very difficult to fix upon a Time when it was such as we ought or would desire to return to : And if any Time is to be fixed on, we are not surely to take the Time when our Constitution was weak and in its Infancy, we are certainly to chuse that Time when it was come to its full Strength and Vigour, which, in my Opinion, is the present. But as Gentlemen have mentioned the Claim of Rights, let us examine how it stood at that Time, for I am persuaded it will be agreed to by every Gentleman in this House, that after that Claim was settled and confirmed, our Constitution was more vigorous than it ever was before that Time ; and yet even in our Claim of Rights there is no Mention made of frequent new Parliaments : It is indeed said, that for Redress of Grievances, and for amending, strengthening and preserving the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently ; but it is not so much as insinuated, that every one of these Parliaments ought to be a new Parliament ; and as to the Frequency of Parliaments, I am sure there never was less Reason for Complaint than since the Septennial Bill passed ; for ever since that Time the Sessions have been regularly held, and all of them have been allowed to sit as long as it was necessary or proper they should.

‘ But, Sir, even by the Claim of Rights our Constitution was not so well regulated or established as it is at present : It was still left in the Power of the King to continue a Parliament as long as he pleased, and this certainly might have become a Grievance upon the People. This Oversight the whole Nation were sensible of, and this they were willing to obviate ; but in all such Cases, People generally run from one Extreme to another ; the Passions of Men are something like a Pendulum, if they are raised too high on one Side, they always rise too high on the other ; it requires Time before they come to settle in the Equilibrium of Reason. This was the very Case with respect to the Triennial Bill, which was passed in the Reign of

* Chief Justice of Chester, made Attorney-General in the Beginning of this Session, in the room of Sir Philip York, appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench,

of King William : The Passions of the People were raised high against the unlimited Prerogative of the Crown, in continuing a Parliament as long as the King had a mind ; this the Enemies of the Government took hold of, in order to introduce a Law by which the Prerogative was in this respect limited too much : for it is well known that the Triennial Act was neither introduced nor promoted by the Patrons of Liberty, or the real Friends to that King's Government ; it was by those who meant to distress the Measures of that good Prince, to whom their native Country, nay even they themselves, stood so much indebted. They at last prevailed, they got that Law passed, which after a long Experience was found to be of dangerous Consequence to the Peace of the Nation, and to the Quiet of the Subject ; and therefore the Septennial Bill was agreed to, which is a most reasonable Mean between the one Extreme of leaving the Prerogative of the Crown in this respect unlimited, and the other Extreme of limiting this Prerogative too much, by laying the Crown under a Necessity of calling a new Parliament once in three Years, whether it be consistent with the Peace and Security of the Nation or not. From whence, Sir, I think I have good Reason to be of Opinion, that our Constitution is now in its utmost Perfection. I was indeed glad to hear Encomiums bestowed by an Honourable Gentleman upon the late King William, because such seldom come from the Corner of the House where he sits ; but if that glorious King had been limited to Septennial Parliaments only, and not to Triennial, the future Happiness of this Nation would have been better secured, and more firmly establish'd by him ; he would not have been obliged to have put an End to the War so soon as he did, or to have agreed to those Treaties, which were afterwards so loudly complained of ; the Continuance of the War but for a very few Years, might have reduced the Power of France so low, as to have rendered them utterly unable to have made a Conquest of Spain ; and thereby the heavy War which ensued, and which cost this Nation so much Blood and Treasure, would have been effectually prevented.

Gentlemen have been pleased, Sir, to mention frequently to us the Prerogative of the Crown, and to talk of its being grown up to a great Height ; but can any Gentleman say, that his present Majesty, or the late King his Father, ever made the least Attempt to the Prejudice of the People's Rights, or ever endeavour'd to extend any Branch of the Prerogative beyond those Bounds which are prescribed to it by Law ? And I hope no Gentleman will say, that the Prerogative, as now limited and esta-

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blished, can be dangerous : for while our happy Constitution is preserved, it is certain the monarchical Part of it must be endowed with some Powers and Prerogatives ; it must have at least those which are necessary to support itself against Faction, and to preserve that Influence which it ought by Law to have in the Government of this Kingdom. And as for the Influence which, as has been supposed, the Crown may acquire over long Parliaments, it has already had a very proper Answer from both the Gentlemen who spoke first against this Motion ; for it is very certain, that the long Parliament in King Charles the Second's Reign, which has been called the Pensionary Parliament, became towards the End so very little subject to the Influence of the Crown, that they did all they could to secure the Liberties of the People against the Schemes which were then forming by the Court, and became so strenuous in their Endeavours this Way, that the King was at last obliged to dissolve them. This shews, that the Length of a Parliament rather diminishes than increases the Influence of the Crown ; and the History of every Parliament since that Time confirms this Observation.

‘ We have been told, that we always ought to have a Dependance on those we represent, and that in long Parliaments this Dependance may probably be thrown off ; which could never be the Case if Parliaments were Annual. That we have all a Dependance upon the People for our Election, is what, Sir, I shall readily grant ; but after we are chosen, and have taken our Seats in this House, we have no longer any Dependance upon our Electors, at least in so far as regards our Behaviour here : Their whole Power is then devolved upon us, and we are in every Question that comes before this House, to regard only the publick Good in general, and to determine according to our own Judgments : If we do not, if we are to depend upon our Representatives, and to follow blindly the Instructions they send us, we cannot be said to act freely, nor can such Parliaments be called free Parliaments : Such a Dependance would be a most dangerous Dependance : It would, in my Opinion, be more dangerous and of worse Consequence than a Dependance upon the Crown ; for in a Dependance on the Crown, can see no Danger as long as the Interest of the Crown is made the same with that of the People, which every Man must allow to be the Case at present ; whereas the People of any County, City, or Borough are very liable to be misled, and may often be induced to give Instructions directly contrary to the Interest of their Country.

“ Bribery and Corruption, Sir, are two hideous Words, and are often set in the most terrible Light; I have, ’tis true, as terrible an Idea of such Practices as any Gentleman in this House; but I cannot think we are in any present Danger from such: Our Constitution is so happily formed, that it is almost impossible to overthrow it by such Practices; for before such a Thing can be done, the Generality of the People must be corrupted; nay, they must be so far corrupted as to be ready to sell themselves for a small Price; for if they insist upon a high one, there cannot be a Purchaser. This is a Case which I hope never will happen, but if ever it should, I cannot see how our Constitution could be more safe with a Triennial than with a Septennial Parliament; for I am persuaded that if a Man will sell his Vote either in Parliament, or at Elections, for 1000 or 100 Guineas, he will sell it for half that Sum, when he finds he can get no more. Whatever is once brought to Market, is generally sold for the Market-Price; and we find that the more frequently a Thing is sold, the lower it falls in its Price, the more contemptible it becomes. People usually suppose that Corruption is only of one sort; but this, Sir, is a Mistake, it appears in many Shapes; a Man may be bribed without giving him Money; and even Members of this House may be bribed without getting any Place or Preferment from the Government. If any Gentleman, to please his Borough, and to secure his next Election, should act contrary to his own Judgment, it is as downright Bribery as if he had got a Pension, a Place or Preferment from the Court; and I look upon this as one of the very worst sorts of Corruption.

“ Gentlemen have told us, that Septennial Parliaments are attended with many Inconveniences, but they have not been so good as to shew us any of them, at least in so far as I have yet heard; we have had the Experience of such Parliaments for above these eighteen Years, and yet I do not find that they have pretended to shew any one Inconvenience which has arisen from them in all that Time; from whence I must presume, that it is not in their Power; and I believe it cannot be shewn that so many good Laws have passed in any such Number of Years, as have been passed since Septennial Parliaments took place: I am sure it cannot be shewn, that any one Law has been passed by any of our Septennial Parliaments, that incroached upon the Rights of the People, or that was attended with an Inconvenience, or was looked on by the Generality of the People as a Grievance. If ever there were any such, I must desire that the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question would point them out to us.

“ But

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‘ But, Sir, I could shew many Inconveniences that would certainly ensue from Triennial or Annual Parliaments: The whole Nation would be kept in a continual Ferment: The Feuds and Divisions which by every Election are raised among Neighbours in the Country, would be continually kept up: The Country Gentlemen would be entirely ruined by the Expence of frequent Elections, and an annual Attendance upon this House with Multitudes of Witnesses, about those that might be contested; and a vast Encouragement would be given to Drunkenness and Idleness among all Ranks of Men. We know, when working People have been habituated but for a few Days to Drunkenness and Idleness, how hard it is to bring them back to their Labour and Industry; from whence we must conclude, that such frequent Elections would be a great Prejudice to our Husbandry, to our Manufactures, and to all sorts of Improvements; for the Drinking and Feasting about one Election would hardly be over, when that for the next would begin. All these, and many worse, would be the certain Consequences of Triennial, or Annual Elections; whereas when Elections return but once in seven Years, the Feuds and Divisions among Neighbours, and the Ferment the Nation is put into, have time to subside; the labouring People have time to cool and return to their Labour, and the Country Gentlemen may easily bear the Expence of Elections, because they have six Years to recruit, and to lay in a Stock for that Purpose.

‘ An Honourable Gentleman spoke of Septennial Parliaments as necessary to support falling Ministers: How a Septennial can be more proper for this Purpose than a Triennial, I cannot really comprehend; but whatever may be in this, I am sure it is not the Case at present: for I have been of late in as many Counties and Corporations as any Gentleman, I believe, in this House; and notwithstanding all the Arts that have been practised, and all the Industry that has been used to give the People a bad Impression of the present Administration, I found the People in every Place I passed through, generally well inclined towards it; and the present Parliament, tho’ a Septennial one, stands so firmly in the Esteem and Affections of the People, that I dare say we shall see the greatest Part of the Gentlemen now in this House re-chosen.

‘ Upon the whole, Sir, as no Gentleman can, I think, shew me any Inconvenience attending Septennial Parliaments but what is imaginary, as a great many dangerous Inconveniences always have attended, and always must attend Triennial Parliaments; and as I am convinced that

the Nation in general is very far from desiring a Repeal of the Septennial Law, I am entirely against the Question.' Anno 7 Geo. II.
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Mr Walter Plumer spoke next :

SIR,

' I am not a little astonished at the Doctrine laid down by the Honourable and Learned Gentleman who spoke last : That after we are chosen, we are to give no Attention to our Constituents, that we are then to throw aside all Dependance upon them, is a Doctrine I never before heard in this House ; and I am the more surprised to hear it come from that learned Gentleman, because some of our principal Law-Books tell us, that in ancient Times this House has often refused to agree to Propositions made by the Court ; for this Reason only, that they could not agree to any such new Propositions, till they went home and consulted with their Constituents. For my own Part, Sir, I shall always give the greatest Attention to the Sentiments of those I represent ; I shall always have a great Regard for their Interests, and shall never think there is any Danger in having a Dependance upon them. Mr. Walter
Plumer.

' The learned Gentleman asked us, If the Prerogative of the Crown had been extended beyond its due Bounds by his late or his present Majesty ? Sir, I do not say it has : It is a Question cannot properly be answered, nor have I heard any such Thing so much as insinuated in this Debate. But I wish we would take an Example from the Crown in one Thing : We may observe, that the Crown never gives a Place or Employment for Life, or for a long Term of Years, except such as cannot be otherwise disposed of ; and the Reason is plain : Were these Places given for Life, the Grantee would then be out of the Power of the Crown, and consequently would not have such a Dependance on the Crown, as those Persons must have who enjoy their Places during Pleasure only. In this the Crown acts wisely ; and I wish we would follow the Example : When I say We, I speak of the Gentlemen present not as Members of this House, but as a Part of the People of Great-Britain : It would certainly be the Height of Wisdom in the People to keep those they trust and employ in their Service as much in their Power as possible. If those the People chose to represent them in this House, were to continue in that Station only during the Pleasure of the People, the Representatives would, I believe, have a proper Regard for the Interests of the People, and would never think of throwing off all Dependance upon them. As this would, in my Opinion, be a wise Step in the People, therefore I must be for agreeing to every Thing that may tend this Way ; for
this

Anno 7 Geo. II. this Reason I cannot but be for the present Motion ; nay, if
 1733-4 Annual Parliaments had been moved for, I should have
 been for the Question.

Another Gentleman over the Way mentioned to us the present Situation of Europe ; and asked us, If we were to sit still, and take no Part ? This, Sir, is a Question that might be answered, if they would let us into the Secret so far, as to know what is the present Situation of Europe with respect to ourselves ; but this they do not seem inclined to do. However, without such an Insight, I think I may say, that we ought to mind our own Business, and take proper Care of the Interests of Great-Britain ; but that we are not to enter headlong into every German Quarrel that happens beyond Seas. This may be a very proper Question, and probably will come to be a Question in the first Session of the next Parliament : In which Case I hope those who have it in their Power, will lay every Thing before this House, that may be necessary for giving a proper Answer to such an important Question. But how the Members of next Parliament, by being chosen for seven Years, should have in the very first Session more Knowledge, more Wisdom, or more Integrity in the determining of this Question, than if they had been chosen only for three, is what, I must confess, I cannot comprehend.

The learned Gentleman was so good as to tell us, that we had all, or most of us, by our Behaviour in this Parliament, established our Characters so firmly among the People, that most of us will be chosen again : if so, it is to be hoped we will behave as well in the next, and then as many of us as are alive may expect to be chosen a third Time. And if we behave ill, I hope no Gentleman will say we ought to continue even for one Year, much less for seven, in the Station we are in, whether our Representatives will or no. This, Sir, is as proper an Answer as can be made to the principal Argument urged against frequent Elections ; which was, that they would distress his Majesty's Government, and render the Measures of his Administration unsteady ; for if the same Members be upon a new Election generally returned as long as they behave well, surely even an Annual Election could never distress his Majesty's Government, nor render his Ministers unsteady in the Measures they pursue, at least as long as the Members behave well in Parliament. And I hope no King will, I am sure his Majesty never will, and I hope no Minister ever can depend upon the ill Behaviour of the Members of Parliament for the Support of his Government, or for the Support of the Measures he pursues : I say, I hope this Case never will happen ; but lest it should, the
 best

best way to guard against it is to have frequent Elections; Anno 7 Geo. II.
and therefore I am for the Question.

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Then Sir William Lowther said:

SIR,

There is one Reason, which chiefly prevails with me to be against your Question: It has been said, that the principal Motive for introducing Septennial Parliaments now no longer exists; but this I can by no means agree with, because I am sure the Number of Papists has greatly increased even since the Septennial Law took place: And as a true Regard for our own Religion has in the same Time very much decreased, I am afraid the Popish Interest will daily gain more and more upon us; and the Transition from Popery to Jacobitism we know to be short and certain.

Sir William
Lowther.

Besides, Sir, there has lately been published in our Weekly Papers, An Essay upon Parties: who is the Author of it I do not know, but I have read it; and I think it the most Jesuitical Performance I ever saw: It could, in my Opinion, be wrote with no other View but to raise Discontents and Jealousies, and to increase the Disaffection to his Majesty's Government; and therefore I cannot be for repealing a Law which greatly strengthens that Government against all such Attempts.

To this Mr. Cholmondeley, Member for Cheshire, replied:

SIR,

I do not stand up, to enter into your Debate; but only to take Notice of what was said by the Gentleman who spoke last. I do not know whether the Number of Papists be increased since the Time he mentions or not; but I would gladly know from him, which Side in the Elections the Papists favour most in that Part of the Country where he lives? For I can affirm, that in all the Parts of England which I know, they generally make use of all their Interest in favour of those Candidates who are recommended by the Ministers: What may be their Reason for such an odd sort of Conduct, I cannot pretend to determine; for surely they do not imagine that the only Game they have to play against his Majesty's Government is to support his Ministers.

Mr. Cholmondeley.

Mr. George Heathcote hereupon added:

SIR,

I was very much inclined, to give my Vote for the Question when it was first moved; but I am now more firmly of that Opinion, after what I have heard from the two Honourable Gentlemen who spoke last: for if Popery

Mr. George
Heathcote.

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has gained so great Ground in this Nation, since the passing of the Septennial Law; and if the Papists be in general such Friends to our Ministers, I do not know but that in next Parliament many Papists may have Seats in this House. And as some of our Ministers have been of late very changeable in their Potiticks, I do not know but they may take it in their Heads to change their Religion too: therefore, for fear of our having a Popish Parliament, and some Popish Ministers, I am for repealing the Septennial Law, in order to prevent their having Time to do a great deal of Mischief.

Then Sir John Hynde Cotton said:

SIR,

Sir John Hynde
Cotton.

‘As to all the Parts of England I know, I can affirm the Truth of what my worthy Friend by me has said. The Papists are in general making use of all their Interest in favour of those Candidates who are recommended by the Ministers; and an Honourable Gentleman on the Floor, who I believe has no small Share in the present Administration, knows that one of that Religion, who is a Gentleman of one of the best and most ancient Families in the County of Norfolk, and a Gentleman of one of the best Estates in it, is now riding about the Country, soliciting Votes for his Friends who are Candidates for the County, or for any City or Borough within the County: so that if there has been of late an Increase of Popery, it cannot be said that the Interest of the Ministers is thereby weakened; but as to his Majesty’s Government, I dare say that it cannot be much strengthened by the Addition of such Friends.

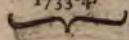
‘An honourable and learned Gentleman over the Way was pleased to ask us, Sir, if his late or present Majesty had ever made any Attempt to the Prejudice of the Rights of the People, or had endeavoured to extend any Branch of the Prerogative beyond its legal Bounds? To this Question, Sir, I shall not answer one Word, because I know the Gentleman’s Office; but I shall answer another Question asked by the same Gentleman: He asked us, if I remember right, Whether any Law was ever passed by a Septennial Parliament that incroached upon the Liberties of the People, or that was attended with an Inconvenience, or was looked on by the Generality of the People as a Grievance? As to the first Part of this Question, I must really, Sir, look upon the Septennial Law itself as some sort of Incroachment upon the Rights of the People; and that Law, I think, was passed by a Parliament which made itself Septennial. But farther, Sir, were not the Laws of Treason, as to Trials, altered by

by a Septennial Parliament, or at least one which made itself so? That Law which had remained unaltered in all the Contests, and the long Wars that happened between the Houses of York and Lancaster, was altered upon a trifling Insurrection in some of the Northern Parts of this Kingdom: Formerly every Man was to be tried by a Jury of his honest Neighbours, within the County where the Crimes alledged against him were said to have been committed; but a Septennial Parliament ordered him to be carried away, and tried in any County, where the Crown, or rather the Minister, could find a Jury proper for their Purpose; and where the Prisoner might not perhaps be able to bring any Witnesses in his own Justification, it might at least have been impossible for him to bring any without a great Expence. And yet farther, Sir, was not the Riot Act passed by a Septennial Parliament; and is this no Inroad upon the Rights of the People? Is it no Grievance that a little dirty Justice of the Peace, the meanest and vilest Tool a Minister can make use of, a Tool who, perhaps, subsists by his being in the Commission, and who may be turned out of that Subsistence whenever the Minister pleases; Is this, I say, no Grievance that such a Tool should have it in his Power, by reading a Proclamation, to put perhaps 20 or 30 of the best Subjects in England to immediate Death, without any Trial or Form of Law? This Law, Sir, and several others I could name, have been passed by Septennial Parliaments; to which, because they stand yet unrepealed, I shall not give the Names I think they deserve.

* But, Sir, to ask whether any Laws have been passed by Septennial Parliaments, which have been attended with Inconveniences, or have been complained of as a Grievance, is a Question I am surprised to hear come from a Gentleman learned in the Laws. Was not the fatal South-sea Scheme, in the Year 1720, established by an Act of a Septennial Parliament, and can any Man ask, whether that Law was attended with any Inconvenience? It was, Sir, the most scandalous Act that ever was passed by any Parliament: if Triennial Parliaments had then been in Being, I am persuaded it would never have passed; or if it had, I am sure, the chief Promoters of it would have suffered a very different Fate from what they did. And, did not the same Parliament pass some Clauses in an Act for hindering the spreading of the Plague, that were look'd upon by the Generality of the People as so great a Grievance, and were so loudly complained of by all Ranks of People in the Nation, that it was thought proper to repeal them in the very next Session of Parliament?

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' To the glorious Catalogue I have mentioned of Laws passed by Septennial Parliaments, we might have added the late Excise Bill, if it had passed into a Law ; but thank God, the Septennial Parliament was near expiring before that famous Bill was introduced. To this glorious Catalogue I could add, Sir, not a few others ; but I will stop here, till I have heard the Laws I have mentioned justified by those who seem to be so much in love with Septennial Parliaments ; and if they can justify all that has been done by such Parliaments, I now promise most solemnly to be of their Opinion ; but till then I hope they will excuse me, in being for the Repeal of a Law, which, in my Opinion, has never done any good, which has produced a great deal of Mischief ; and which, I am much afraid, will quite overturn our Constitution, if it continues for any Time unrepealed.'

Sir John Barnard spoke next :

SIR,

Sir John Barnard,

' I am a good deal surpris'd to find that none of those Gentlemen who usually have a great share in our Debates, seem inclin'd to take any share in this. I hope they will allow it to be a Question of some Consequence to their Country ; and if it should be carried in the Affirmative, some of them may perhaps find it a Question of some Consequence to themselves. I will venture to say, that I have not heard a Question better supported on one side, and less said against it on the other, by the Gentlemen who have already spoken since I sat in Parliament ; and I now stand up, not that I think any thing needful to be added to what has been said in support of it, but that I cannot think of letting a Question go, in the Success of which I think the Happiness of my Country so deeply concerned, without my joining with other Gentlemen in shewing all the Regard for it that lies in my Power.

' An honourable and learned Gentleman has indeed advanced a Doctrine which I think altogether new : That we are to have no further Dependance on our Electors after we have taken our Seats in this House ; nay, that a Dependance upon them would be more dangerous than a Dependance on the Crown. This, Sir, is really, in my Opinion, something very new ; tho' that Gentleman may perhaps like the one better than the other, yet I shall always look upon a Dependance on the People of England, or even upon those I represent, to be less dangerous and more honourable, than a Dependance on the Crown ; and I value my self more on the Honour I have had of sitting here for two Parliaments, as one of the Representatives of the

the People of England, and by the free and uncorrupted Choice of those I represent, than I should do on the greatest Honours the Crown can bestow. Indeed, if I had obtained my Seat here by Bribery, or by the illegal and corrupt Influence of any great Minister, I should look upon it in a very different light; I should look upon it as one of the most disgraceful Stations I could be in.

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It has been affirmed by several Gentlemen, who have spoken on the other side of the Question, that the longer Parliaments continued, the less Influence the Crown had upon them; and for a Proof of this, they have instanced the long Parliament in King Charles the Second's Reign. The same Gentlemen have likewise asserted, that Triennial Parliaments would distress his Majesty's Government: How these two Assertions are compatible, I leave to the Gentlemen themselves to explain; for to me it appears impossible that both can be true: because if the Crown has always the less Influence in a Parliament the longer it continues, surely the shortening the Time of its Duration cannot distress any King's Government. But as to the long Parliament in King Charles's Time, tho' they did not towards the End shew the same servile Compliance that they had done for many Years before; yet it is plain, that the Crown thought that Parliament fitter for the Purposes of the Court at that Time, than they could expect any new Parliament chosen by the People to be; otherwise, as the King had it in his Power, he would certainly have dissolved them much sooner: And if that long Parliament really deserved the Name usually given to it, we must conclude, that their Non-compliance at last was not owing to their Virtue, or a Want of Inclination to receive, but to a Want of Power in the Crown to give. The People were not then accustomed to bear such heavy Burdens, as they do at present; the Revenues of the Crown were not so large, nor the Posts and Places at the Disposal of the Crown so numerous; there was not such a numerous standing Army to support the Parliament, in case they had gone on in the same servile Method: And as the Complaints of the People grew loud and clamorous, as there was little to be got, and a great deal to be apprehended, by the Continuance of a servile Compliance, it is very probable that these were the true Reasons of that Parliament's becoming at last so restless: And if the Nation was now in the same State it was at that Time, I should not be half so much afraid of Septennial Parliaments as I think I have now good Reason to be.

The Animosities, Disputes, and Divisions about Elections, have been set in the most dreadful Light, and have

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have been represented as so great an Inconvenience, that we ought to run the Risk of having our Constitution overturned, rather than submit to it. But, Sir, can it be imagined that there would be the same Contention for a Seat in Parliament, which was to continue but for one Year, or even for three, that there is for one which is to continue for seven: The Example of the City of London plainly shews us the contrary. As the Common-Councilmen, and a great many other Officers in the City are chosen annually, I have had Ocaſion to be often present at these annual Elections, and never could find that they were attended with any great Heats and Animofities, or with any Inconvenience; for after the Election is over, the contending Parties go home, and live in the same Friendship they did before: And I am convinced the Case would be the very same, if annual Elections for Members of this House were restored. The same Man might perhaps be continued and re-chosen every Year for many Years together, probably without any Dispute or Opposition; but his being liable every Year to be turned out, would be a continual Check upon his Behaviour, and would make him study the Interests of the People, instead of pursuing only some private and selfish Views of his own.

Even as Elections stand at present, there would be no such Contentions, nor any such Heats and Animofities as we hear of, if they were entirely left to Gentlemen who have a natural Interest in the Place: in such Case, if a Candidate found himself defeated by fair Means only, and merely by the superior Interest of his Antagonist, it would not raise his Indignation, it would occasion no Heats or Animofities, he would wait with Patience for a new Opportunity, and in the mean time would endeavour to recommend himself to his Country by Acts of Hospitality and Benevolence. It is Ministers of State intermeddling in Elections; it is Election-Brokers, and such Dealers in Corruption, that occasion all the Heats and Animofities we have: for when a Gentleman, of a great natural Interest, sees his Electors obliged by Power, or bribed by Money, to vote against him, perhaps in favour of an utter Stranger, it cannot but raise his Indignation: it may indeed justly raise his utmost Fury and Revenge.

It is certain, Sir, that if the People were entirely left to themselves, they would, without much Contention, always chuse those Gentlemen, who, by having large Properties of their own, might be reasonably supposed to be such as would take the best Care of the Properties of their Fellow-Subjects: But if the People should ever begin to see their Representatives making their Seats in Parliament

Places of Profit, and bartering their Votes and their Behaviour in Parliament for Posts, Places and Pensions, the People will soon follow the Example of their Representatives, and will insist upon sharing with them in the Profits. Thus, by degrees, the Minds of the People will be debauched; they will be brought to think, that the selling their Votes at Elections is no Crime, the Representatives who buy their Seats must sell their Votes; and at last, all Regard for the publick Good will be generally laid aside by all sorts of Men. The only effectual Method, Sir, of preventing this fatal Effect, is to restore annual Elections; for then it would be impossible, even for the Treasury itself (if ever the publick Money should come to be so misapplied) to issue yearly, Sums of Money sufficient to get the better of the natural Interest, which Country Gentlemen always have in the Places where they and their Families have perhaps for many Generations resided. The Consequence of which will be, that none but Country Gentlemen, and those who have a natural Interest in the Place, will ever appear as Candidates; and thus neither the Morals of the People will be debauched, nor their Properties plundered, nor their Liberties destroyed by those Election-Brokers and Ministerial Agents, or their Candidates, who never can be employed or set up but for such base Purposes.

As for our Credit abroad, which, it is pretended, Septennial Parliaments very much contribute to, I think it is evident, that it has been sinking ever since the Septennial Law took place; which confirms what was justly observed by an honourable Gentleman, that the Credit of the Nation among Foreigners does not depend upon the Length or Shortness of our Parliaments, but upon that Correspondence and Confidence which ought always to be kept up between the King and his People. I will not say that this Decay of our Credit abroad has been altogether owing to the Septennial Law; but I dare say, if our Parliaments had not been Septennial, they would probably, before now, have enquired into the Conduct of those who have been the Causes of this Decay; and whatever Reasons the Decay of our Credit among Foreigners may have been owing to, it is now come to so low an Ebb, that we really seem to have almost none to lose. This, I am sorry to say it, seems to be our Case at present; and as I think nothing can so effectually restore our Credit abroad, as the restoring our Constitution at home, I shall therefore give my Vote for the Question.

Then

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Sir William
Yonge.

Then Sir William Yonge stood up, and spoke as follows :

SIR,

‘ I assure you, I did not sit still because I thought much had been said in this Debate upon one Side of the Question, and nothing upon the other ; but because after what had been offered by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, who spoke early in the Debate, and the honourable and learned Gentleman who spoke some time ago against the Question, I thought it might be looked on as a Vanity in me to pretend to add any Thing to what had been said : Indeed I am still of the same Opinion, and should have continued in my Resolution of not giving you any Trouble this Day, had not the Honourable Gentleman over the Way thrown out what I take to be a very uncandid Reflection upon my Honourable and Learned Friend.

‘ My learned Friend happened to make an Observation, which I still think a very just one ; he said, that after we are returned and have taken our Seats in this House, we ought not any longer to have a Dependance upon those we represent. This the Honourable Gentleman laid hold of, he not only called it a new and a very extraordinary Doctrine ; but he dropt an Expression such as I think ought not to be made use of in this House : As to the Observation made by my learned Friend, he certainly meant, and I believe almost every Gentleman understood him, that after we have taken our Seats in this House we ought, every one of us, to look upon ourselves as one of the Representatives of the whole Body of the Commons of England, and ought not to have any particular Byass for the County, City or Borough we represent. This, Sir, is so far from being a Doctrine very extraordinary, or altogether new, that I wish every Gentleman in this House would make it a standing Rule for his Conduct ; for I cannot help observing, that there are some Gentlemen in the House who on many Occasions confine their Thoughts too much to the particular County, City or Borough they represent ; but surely they must be sensible, that many Things may happen in Parliament which may be for the Interest of the Nation in general, tho’ they may not perhaps quadrate so exactly with the particular Interest of London, Bristol, Liverpool, or other like City ; and in such a Case the Gentlemen must surely grant, that as Members of this House, they ought to drop not only their Dependance upon, but even their Concern for the particular City they represent, in order

order to concur with the rest of the Members of this House, in what they judge to be for the general Interest of the Nation.

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' This, Sir, I thought myself obliged to say in Vindication of my learned Friend; but as to the Question itself, I shall give you but very little Trouble: for tho' I must do the Gentlemen who introduced this Motion the Justice to own, that they did it with as much Candour; and in as pretty a Manner, as I ever heard any Question introduced in this House, yet all the Arguments they made use of were so fully answered, and the Objections against their Motion stated in so clear a Light, by the two worthy Gentlemen who spoke first against their Motion, that I cannot agree to it: and indeed, as I believe we owe the Happiness of having the present Royal Family upon the Throne, and the Liberty of debating any Question in this House, chiefly to the Septennial Law, I shall never agree to the Repeal of that Law; without seeing much stronger Reasons for it than any I have hitherto heard offered.

* One of the great Inconveniences said to attend Septennial Parliaments is, that they heighten and increase those Heats and Animosities which are usually raised among the People about the Time of Elections; but this I cannot agree to, because it is well known that those Heats and Animosities rose to as great a Height, nay to a much greater Height, during the Continuance of Triennial Parliaments; than they ever did since that Time; from whence we may observe, that the Violence of those Heats and Animosities does not depend upon the quick or the slow Return of Elections, but upon the Temper of the People at the Time. In every Nation there arises sometimes a general Ferment among the People, sometimes without any visible Cause, and often from Causes that are in themselves unjust: In this Nation, if an Election for a new Parliament should come on when the Nation is in any such Ferment, the Heats and Animosities at that Time would certainly become extremely violent, nay so violent, as to endanger the Peace of the Kingdom; and if we had Annual or even Triennial Parliaments, no such Ferment could ever happen but what would probably be attended with an Election, by which the Nation might be involved in such frequent Disorders and Confusions, as might at last make us a Prey for some foreign Enemy; which, in my Opinion, is a Danger much more to be apprehended, than any Danger our Constitution can be in from having our Parliaments Septennial.

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‘ Another Inconvenience is, that Septennial Parliaments increase and give Encouragements to Bribery and Corruption. That there is Bribery and Corruption, that there always has been Bribery and Corruption, is a Fact I shall not dispute: But, Sir, that the Increase or Decrease of that Vice depends upon the frequent or the rare Return of Elections, is what I cannot agree to; for I am convinced it will always depend upon the Virtue of the People in general, and the Humour they happen to be in at the Time. I wish Bribery and Corruption of all Kinds could be prevented; but the Evil I am afraid is inevitable; for notwithstanding the many express Laws against it, notwithstanding the severe Law made but a little while ago for preventing it, yet we find that Methods have been contrived for evading all those Laws, either by giving great Entertainments and great plenty of Victuals, or by some more secret and corrupt Practices, so that the only Way to prevent the Growth of this Evil, is to preserve the Virtue of the People; and I believe the best Way to preserve the Virtue of the People, is to give them as few Opportunities as possible for being vicious: from whence I must conclude, that for obviating this Inconvenience, Septennial Parliaments are better than Triennial.

‘ If so many and so great Inconveniences have been felt all over the Nation from Septennial Parliaments, if so great Complaints have been made, it is very strange, Sir, that no Attempt has been made, ever since the passing of that Law, for the Repeal of it; but the Time now chosen for making that Attempt, shews plainly with what View it is made: It is now the last Session of a Parliament, a new Election must soon come on, and as this Motion has an Appearance of Popularity among the meaner sort of Electors, it may be of Service to some Gentlemen at the next Elections: And as to the Contentions about these Elections beginning so early, I do not know by whom they were begun, but I believe they have been set on foot on purpose to furnish Gentlemen with Arguments in this Day’s Debate; and an Honourable Gentleman has accordingly taken hold of it, and has made use of those Contentions so early begun, as an Argument against Septennial Parliaments.

‘ Another Honourable Gentleman has given us a glorious Catalogue, as he was pleased to call it, of Laws passed by Septennial Parliaments; but I think he ought in a particular Manner to have guarded against putting the Riot Act into that Catalogue, for he knows it was founded on the same Motive with the Septennial. It was absolutely necessary for the Safety of the Government, and had it not been

been for some Executions in Fleet-street, in consequence of that Act, I am persuaded it would not have been possible to have preserved the Peace of the Kingdom at that Time: and I must say, that it is somewhat very strange to hear Gentlemen arguing against Contentions and Riots at Elections, and at the same Time complaining of that Law which was made for the preventing of Riots upon any Occasion. As to the Law for regulating Trials in Cases of Treason, there was never a more reasonable Law passed in Parliament: Is it not at all Times absolutely inconsistent with the Safety of the Government; nay, is it not in itself ridiculous; that Rebels and Traitors should be tried by a Jury of their own Friends and Relations, embarked in the same wicked Designs, and as much disaffected to the Government as the Prisoners at the Bar? Can it be expected that such a Jury will ever find the Prisoners guilty? And therefore when whole Counties had rebelled, what could have been more reasonable than the sending the Rebels of those Counties to be tried in other Counties, where an honest and a disinterested Jury might be found; and as that Law was confined to the Rebels then in Custody, or such as should be taken within a short Time after, I am surprised to hear it found fault with.

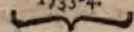
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* We have been told, Sir, that the Nation in general desires the Repeal of the Septennial Law, and that Instructions have been sent up to several Members for that purpose. As to the Desires of the Nation in general, it is a Fact not easy to be determined; I do not know but the Mob, I mean such as have no Business with Elections, may generally desire the Repeal of this Law, because they would then have an Opportunity of getting drunk, committing Riots, and living idly, much oftner than they have at present; but as to all those who have any Right to vote at Elections, I am convinced the Generality of them desire no such Thing. And as for those Instructions that may have been sent up to Members, no Man is ignorant how they are usually obtained: I saw a Copy of one of them lately in one of our Evening News-papers, and by the Style of it I may leave any Gentleman to judge, what sort of Persons they were who sent it, or rather obtained its being sent. As the Memory of King William will always, they know, be revered in England, by all those who are attached to the true Interest of their Country, these Instructions take particular Notice, that the Triennial Law was passed in the Reign of our great Deliverer, King William, of glorious and immortal Memory: But does not every Man, who has read the History of his Reign, know, that that Law was promoted by those who were perhaps Friends to the Revo-

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lution, but Enemies to the then Administration, co-operating with those who were Enemies to both ?

* In short, Sir, the Septennial Law, as well as the Riot Act, was passed for the Safety and Establishment of the present Government; and, as I think in my Conscience, the Repeal of either of them would endanger the Government, I am therefore heartily against your Question.

To this Sir William Wyndham replied :

SIR,

Sir William
Wyndham.

* The Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, in vindicating, as he called it, his learned Friend, threw out a very unfair Reflection upon the Conduct of a worthy Gentleman under the Gallery, whose Behaviour in Parliament I have been a Witness of, and I can say without Flattery, it has been as even and as honourable as the Behaviour of any Gentleman in this House; and if the Honourable Gentleman thinks otherwise, I dare say he is single in his Opinion: He is, I believe, the only Man, either in the House or out of it, who thinks so; I wish the Behaviour of every other Gentleman, I will not say in this, but in former Parliaments, had been as unexceptionable; for if it had, I am very sure we should have had no Occasion for this Day's Debate.

* The Observation made by the Learned Gentleman, which the Honourable Gentleman took up so much Time to explain, was without Exception; it was just, it was plain, and therefore wanted neither an Explanation nor a Vindication: but, Sir, what the worthy Gentleman under the Gallery, and others as well as he, took Notice of, was an Expression that fell from the learned Gentleman, I dare say, without Design: He said that we were to have no Dependence upon our Constituents; he went further, he said it was a dangerous Dependence; nay, he went further still, and said it was more dangerous than a Dependence on the Crown: This my worthy Friend took notice of, and with his usual Modesty, called it a new Doctrine. It is, Sir, not only a new Doctrine, but it is the most monstrous, the most slavish Doctrine was ever heard, and such a Doctrine as I hope no Man will ever dare to support within these Walls. I am persuaded, Sir, the learned Gentleman did not mean what the Words he happened to make use of may seem to import; for tho' the People of a County, City or Borough may be misled, and may be induced to give Instructions which are contrary to the true Interest of their Country, yet I hope he will allow, that in Times past the Crown has been oftner misled; and consequently we must conclude, that

that it is more apt to be misl'd in Time to come, than we can suppose the People to be.

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As to the Contests about the next Election, Sir, that they were begun a long while ago, is a certain Fact; but who the Beginners were, may not be so certain, or at least not so generally known: and the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last seem'd to be ignorant, or indeed rather to mistake who were the Beginners of them; but if he pleases to look about him, he may see one not far distant from him, who, by his Agents, was the first and the principal Beginner of them in most Parts of the Kingdom. To see them begin so soon, is no new Thing, Sir; it is a stale ministerial Artifice; it has been practis'd ever since Septennial Parliaments took place, and will be practis'd as long as they continue: Ministers of State know well how unequal the Contention is between a Country Gentleman, who has nothing but his own Estate (greatly exhausted by the many Taxes he pays) to depend on, and Ministerial Election-mongers, supplied by Gentlemen in Office, who have for seven Years been heaping up Money for that purpose, or perhaps supplied even by the publick Treasure of the Nation; and the sooner this Contention begins, the greater Disadvantage the Country Gentlemen labour under, the more Time those Tools of Corruption have to practise upon the Electors, and to discover where that Money may be placed to the best Advantage, which is issued for corrupting the People, and overturning the Constitution: From hence it is obvious who have been, and who will always be the first Beginners of such Contentions.

The learned Gentleman, as well as some others, particularly an Honourable Gentleman under the Gallery, who spoke early in the Debate, and who indeed said as much, and in as handsome a Manner as can, in my Opinion, be said against the Question, has told us, that our Constitution has been often varied; and that there was no Time when it was such as we ought, or would desire, to return to. Sir, it is not to be doubted but our Constitution has often varied, and perhaps there is no Time when it was without a Fault; but I will affirm, that there is no Time in which we may not find some good Things in our Constitution: There are now, there have been in every Century some good Laws existing: Let us preserve those that are good; if any of them have been abolished, let them be restored, and if any of the Laws now in Being are found to be attended with Inconveniences, let them be repealed. This is what is now desired, this is what the People have reason to expect from Parliament; there is nothing now desired but what the People have a Right to; they have now, they always

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always had a Right to frequent new Parliaments; and this Right was established and confirmed even by the Claim of Rights, notwithstanding what the learned Gentleman has said to the contrary. At the Time of the Revolution, nay at the present Time, at all Times, the word Parliament, in the common Way of Speaking, comprehends all the Sessions held from one Election to another: That this is the common Meaning of the Word, I appeal to every Gentleman in this House; and for this Reason those Patriots, who drew up our Claim of Rights, could not imagine that it was necessary to put in the word New: They could not so much as dream that the two Words, Frequent Parliaments, would afterwards be interpreted to mean, Frequent Sessions of Parliament; but the Lawyers, who are accustomed to confound the Sense of the plainest Words, immediately found out, that a Session of Parliament was a Parliament, and that therefore the words Frequent Parliaments, meant only Frequent Sessions. This Quirk the Lawyers found out immediately after the Revolution; this Quirk the Courtiers at that Time caught hold of; and this set the People anew upon the Vindication of their Rights, which they obtained by the Triennial Bill: By that Bill the Right of the People to frequent new Parliaments, was established in such clear Terms as not to be misunderstood; and God forgive them who consented to the giving it up.

I am extremely surpris'd, Sir, to hear it said, that the Triennial Bill was introduced by the Enemies to the Revolution. I will not say, that it was introduced by the Courtiers at that Time; we seldom see such Bills introduced by such Gentlemen: but, does not every know, that it was my Lord Somers who was the chief Promoter of that Bill, and that most of those who supported him in it, were Gentlemen who had been deeply concerned in bringing about the Revolution? 'Tis true, the Courtiers oppos'd it; and even King William himself, by the Advice of some wicked Ministers, refus'd to pass it the first Time it was offer'd; but when it came back again to him; he was better advis'd; and if he had not pass'd it, he had not done what he ought to do, he had not done all he came to do; nor that which when he came he promis'd to do, which was to restore the People to the full Enjoyment of all their Rights and Privileges.

To pretend, Sir, that the Triennial Bill was introduced with a View of distressing King William's Government, is really casting a Reflection upon his Government: For to tell us, that the People's claiming those Rights, which he came to establish, was a distressing of his Government, is to tell us, that his Government was contrary to the Rights
of

of the People, which is, in my Opinion, a very high Reflection, and such a one as the Gentlemen, who tell us so, would not patiently hear cast upon that Reign by others. The other Pretence, that Triennial Parliaments were the Cause of his putting an End to the War, or of that Treaty which was so much complained of, is, I am sure, as groundless; for the second War was begun and carried on with great Success, under the Influence of Triennial Parliaments, till the Ballance of Power was fully restored, and so firmly established, that France has never since endeavoured to make the least Incroachment upon any of her Neighbours: What some late Measures may encourage her to do hereafter, I shall not pretend to determine; but this Nation has ever since that Time enjoyed what I think I may call a profound Tranquillity, which, if the Triennial Law had remained in force, we would, I believe, have made a much better use of, than we now seem to have done.

‘ The learned Gentleman has told us, That the Septennial Law is a proper Medium between the unlimited Power of the Crown, and the limiting that Power too much; but, Sir, before he had fixed upon this as a Medium, he should first have discovered to us the two Extremes. I will readily allow, that an unlimited Power in the Crown, with respect to the continuing of Parliaments, is one Extreme; but the other I cannot really find out: for I am very far from thinking, that the Power of the Crown was too much limited by the Triennial Law, or that the Happiness of the Nation was any way injured by it, or can ever be injured by frequent Elections. As to the Power of the Crown, it is very certain, that as long as the Administration of publick Affairs is agreeable to the Generality of the People, were they to chuse a new Parliament every Year, they would chuse such Representatives as would most heartily concur in every thing with such an Administration; so that even an Annual Parliament could not be any Limitation of the just Power of the Crown; and as to the Happiness of the Nation, it is certain, that Gentlemen will always contend with more Heat and Animosity about being Members of a long Parliament, than about being Members of a short one: and therefore the Elections for a Septennial Parliament must always disturb the Peace, and injure the Happiness of the Nation, more than the Elections for an Annual or Triennial Parliament. Of this the Elections in the City of London, mentioned by my worthy Friend, are an evident Demonstration.

‘ As to the Elections coming on when the Nation is in a Ferment, it is so far from being an Objection to frequent Elections, that it is, in my Opinion, Sir, a strong Argument

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ment in favour of them; because it is one of the chief Supports of the Freedom of the Nation. It is plain, that the People seldom or ever were in a Ferment, but when Incroachments were made upon their Rights and Privileges; and when any such are made, it is very proper, nay it is even necessary, that the People should be allowed to proceed to a new Election, in order that they may chuse such Representatives as will do them Justice, by punishing those who have been making Incroachments upon them; otherwise one of these two Effects may very probably ensue: Either the Ferment will break out into an open Insurrection, or the Incroachment that has been made, may happen to be forgot before a new Election comes on; and then the Invaders of the People's Rights will have a much better Lay for getting such a new Parliament chosen, as will not only free them from all Punishment, but will confirm the Incroachments that have been made, and encourage the making of new. Thus the Rights of the People may be nibbled and curtailed by Piece-meal, and ambitious Criminals may at last get themselves so firmly seated, that it will be out of the Power of the People to stop their Career, or to avoid the Chains which they are preparing.

' Now, Sir, to return to the Power of the Crown, which the learned Gentleman has told us was too much limited by the Triennial Law; I think I have made it plain, that the just Power of the Crown cannot possibly be limited by frequent Elections, and consequently could not be too much limited by the Triennial Law; but by long Parliaments the Crown may be enabled to assume, and to make use of an unjust Power. By our Constitution the only legal Method we have of vindicating our Rights and Privileges against the Incroachments of ambitious Ministers is by Parliament; the only Way we have of rectifying a weak or wicked Administration, is by Parliament; the only effectual Way we have of bringing high and powerful Criminals to condign Punishment, is by Parliament. But if ever it should come to be in the Power of the Administration to have a Majority of this House depending upon the Crown, or to get a Majority of such Men returned, as the Representatives of the People, the Parliament will then stand us in no stead: It can answer none of these great Purposes; the whole Nation may be convinced of the Weakness or the Wickedness of those in the Administration; and yet it may be out of the Nation's Power, in a legal Way, to get the Fools turned out, or the Knaves hanged.

' This Misfortune, Sir, can be brought upon us by nothing but by Bribery and Corruption; and therefore there

is nothing we ought to guard more watchfully against. And an honourable Gentleman, who spoke some time ago, upon the same side with me, has so clearly demonstrated, that the Elections for a Septennial Parliament are more liable to be influenced by Corruption, than those for a Triennial, that I am surpris'd his Argument should be mistaken, or not comprehended; but it seems the most certain Maxims, the plainest Truths, are now to be controverted or denied. It has been laid down as a Maxim, and I think it is a most infallible Maxim, that a Man will contend with more Heat and Vigour for a Post, either of Honour or Profit, which he is to hold for a long Term, than he will do for one he is to hold for a short Term: this has been controverted. It has been laid down as a Maxim, and I think equally infallible, that a hundred Guineas is a more powerful Bribe than fifty; this has been denied: Yet nevertheless, I must beg Leave to push this Argument a little further.

Let us suppose, Sir, a Gentleman at the Head of the Administration, whose only Safety depends upon corrupting the Members of this House. This may now be only a Supposition, but it is certainly such a one as may happen; and if ever it should, let us see whether such a Minister might not promise himself more Success in a Septennial, than he could in a Triennial Parliament. It is an old Maxim, that every Man has his Price, if you can but come up to it. This, I hope, does not hold true of every Man; but I am afraid it too generally holds true; and that of a great many it may hold true, is what, I believe, was never doubted of; tho' I don't know but it may now likewise be denied: However, let us suppose this distressed Minister applying to one of those Men who has a Price, and is a Member of this House; in order to engage this Member to vote as he shall direct him, he offers him a Pension of 1000 *l.* a Year: if it be but a Triennial Parliament, will not the Member immediately consider within himself, If I accept of this Pension, and vote according to Direction, I shall lose my Character in the Country, I shall lose my Seat in Parliament the next Election, and my Pension will then of course be at an end; so that by turning Rogue I shall get but 3000 *l.* this is not worth my while? And so the Minister must either offer him, perhaps, the double of that Sum, or otherwise he will probably determine against being corrupted; but if the Parliament were Septennial, the same Man might perhaps say within himself, I am now in for seven Years; by accepting of this Pension, I shall have at least 7000 *l.* this will set me above Contempt; and if I am turned out at next Election, I do

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not value it, I'll take the Money in the mean time. Is it not very natural to suppose all this, Sir; and, does not this evidently shew, that a wicked Minister cannot corrupt a Triennial Parliament with the same Money with which he may corrupt a Septennial?

Again, Suppose this Minister applies to a Gentleman who has purchased, and thereby made himself Member for a Borough, at the Rate of, perhaps, 1500 *l.* besides travelling Charges, and other little Expences: Suppose the Minister offers him a Pension of 500 *l.* a Year to engage his Vote, will not he naturally consider, if it be a Triennial Parliament, that if he cannot get a higher Pension he will lose Money by being a Member; and surely, if he be a right Burgess, he will resolve not to sell at all, rather than sell his Commodity for less than it cost him; and if he finds he cannot sell at all, he will probably give over standing a Candidate again upon such a footing; by which not only he, but many others, will be induced to give over dealing in corrupting the Electors at the next Election. But in case it be a Septennial Parliament, will he not then probably accept of the 500 *l.* Pension, if he be one of those Men that has a Price? because he concludes, that for 1500 *l.* he may always secure his Election; and every Parliament will put near 2000 *l.* in his Pocket, besides reimbursing him all his Charges. After viewing the present Question in this light, is it possible, Sir, not to conclude, that Septennial Parliaments, as well as the Elections for such, must always be much more liable to be influenced by Corruption, than Triennial, or the Elections for Triennial?

For my own part, Sir, I have been often chosen; I have sat in Parliament above these twenty Years; and I can say with Truth, that neither at my Election, nor after my Return, no Man ever dared to attempt to let me know what is meant by Bribery and Corruption; but I am sorry to hear the Impossibility of preventing it mentioned, and mentioned too, Sir, within these Walls. The honourable Gentleman who spoke last, told us the Evil of Corruption was inevitable. If I were so unhappy as to think so, I should look upon my Country to be in the most melancholy Situation. Perhaps it may be the way of thinking among those he keeps company with; but I thank God I have a better Opinion of my Countrymen; and since it appears to be a way of thinking among some Gentlemen, it is high Time for us to contrive some Method of putting it out of their power to corrupt the Virtue of the People: for we may depend upon this as a certain Maxim, that those who think they cannot gain the Affections of the People, will endeavour to purchase their Prostitution; and the best way to prevent

prevent the Success of their Endeavours, is to raise the Price so high as to put it out of the Power of any Man, or of any Set of Men to come up to it. If a Parliament is to be purchased, if Elections are to be purchased, it is manifest the corrupting of Triennial must, upon the whole, cost a great deal more than the corrupting of Septennial Elections or Parliaments : Therefore, in order to put it out of the Power of any Man, or of any Administration, to purchase the Prostitution of a Parliament, or of the People, let us return to Triennial Parliaments ; and if that will not do, let us return to Annual Elections, which, I am very certain, would render the Practice of Corruption impossible. This, Sir, is now the more necessary, because of the many new Posts and Places of Profit which the Crown has at its Disposal, and the great Civil List settled upon his present Majesty, and which will probably be continued to his Successors. This, I say, urges the Necessity for frequent new Parliaments ; because the Crown has it now more in their Power than formerly, to seduce the People, or the Representatives of the People, in case any future Administration should find it necessary for their own Safety to do so.

That the Increase or Decrease of Corruption at Elections, or in Parliament, must always depend upon the Increase or Decrease of Virtue among the People, I shall readily grant ; but it is as certain, that the Virtue of almost every particular Man depends upon the Temptations that are thrown in his Way ; and according to the Quantity of Virtue he has, the Quantity of the Temptation must be raised, so as at last to make it an Over-balance for his Virtue. Suppose then, Sir, that the Generality of the Electors in England have Virtue enough to withstand a Temptation of five Guineas each, but not Virtue enough to withstand a Temptation of ten Guineas, one with another : Is it not then much more probable, that the Gentlemen who deal in Corruption, may be able to raise as much Money, once every seven Years, as will be sufficient to give ten Guineas each, one with another, to the Generality of the Electors, than that they will be able to raise such a Sum once in every three Years ? And is it not from thence certain, that the Virtue of the People in general is in greater Danger of being destroyed by Septennial than by Triennial Parliaments ? To suppose, Sir, that every Man's Vote at an Election is like a Commodity which must be sold at the Market Price, is really to suppose that no Man has any Virtue at all : for I will aver, that when once a Man resolves to sell his Vote at any rate, he has then no Virtue left, which, I hope, is not the Case of many of our Electors ; and therefore, the only Thing we are to apprehend

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is, left so high a Price should be offered as may tempt thousands to sell, who had never before any Thoughts of carrying such a Commodity to Market. This, Sir, is the fatal Event we are to dread, and it is much more to be dreaded from Septennial than from Triennial Parliaments. If we have therefore any Desire to preserve the Virtue of our People; if we have any Desire to preserve our Constitution; if we have any Desire to preserve our Liberties, our Properties, and every thing that can be dear to a free People, we ought to restore the Triennial Law; and if that be found to be insignificant, we ought to abolish Prorogations, and return to Annual Elections.

The learned Gentleman spoke of the Prerogative of the Crown, and asked us, If it had lately been extended beyond those Bounds prescribed to it by Law. Sir, I will not say that there has been lately any Attempts to extend it beyond the Bounds prescribed by Law; but I will say, that those Bounds have been of late so vastly enlarged, that there seems to be no great Occasion for any such Attempt. What are the many Penal Laws made within these forty Years, but so many Extensions of the Prerogative of the Crown, and as many Diminutions of the Liberty of the Subject? And whatever the Necessity was that brought us into the enacting of such Laws, it was a fatal Necessity; it has greatly added to the Power of the Crown, and particular Care ought to be taken not to throw any more Weight into that Scale. Perhaps the enacting of several of those penal Laws might have been avoided; I am persuaded the enacting of the Law relating to Trials for Treason, not only might, but ought to have been avoided; for tho' it was but a temporary Law, it was a dangerous Precedent; and the Rebellion was far from being so general in any County as not to leave a sufficient Number of faithful Subjects for trying those who had committed Acts of Treason within the County.

In former Times the Crown had a large Estate of its own; an Estate sufficient for supporting the Dignity of the Crown; and as we had no Standing Armies, nor any great Fleets to provide for, the Crown did not want frequent Supplies; so that they were not under any Necessity of calling frequent Parliaments; and as Parliaments were always troublesome, often dangerous to Ministers, therefore they avoided the calling of any such as much as possible: But tho' the Crown did not then want frequent Supplies, the People frequently wanted a Redress of Grievances, which could not be obtained but by Parliament; therefore the only Complaint then was, that the Crown either did not call any Parliament at all, or did not allow them to sit long enough: This

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was the only Complaint, and to remedy this, it was thought sufficient to provide for having frequent Parliaments, every one of which, 'twas presumed, was always to be a new Parliament; for 'tis well known, that the Method of Prorogation was of old very rarely made use of, and was first introduced by those who were attempting to make Incroachments upon the Rights of the People.

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But now, Sir, the Case is altered; the Crown, either by ill Management, or by Prodigality and Profuseness to its Favourites, has spent or granted away all that Estate; and the publick Expence is so much enlarged, that the Crown must have annual Supplies, and is therefore under a Necessity of having the Parliament meet every Year; but as new Elections are always dangerous as well as troublesome to Ministers of State, they are for having them as seldom as possible; so that the Complaint is not now for want of frequent Meetings or Sessions of Parliament, but against having the same Parliament continued too long. This is the Grievance now complained of; this is what the People desire; this is what they have a Right to have redressed. The Members of Parliament may for one Year be look'd on as the real and true Representatives of the People; but when a Minister has seven Years to practise upon them, and to feel their Pulses, they may be induced to forget whose Representatives they are; they may throw off all Dependence upon their Electors, and may become Dependants upon the Crown, or rather upon the Minister for the Time being, which the learned Gentleman has most ingenuously confessed to us, he thinks less dangerous than a Dependence upon his Electors.

We have been told, Sir, in this House, that no Faith is to be given to Prophecies, therefore I shall not pretend to prophesy; but I may suppose a Case, which, tho' it has not yet happened, may possibly happen. Let us then suppose, Sir, a Man abandoned to all Notions of Virtue or Honour, of no great Family, and of but a mean Fortune, raised to be chief Minister of State, by the Concurrence of many whimsical Events; afraid or unwilling to trust any but Creatures of his own making, and most of them equally abandoned to all Notions of Virtue or Honour; ignorant of the true Interest of his Country, and consulting nothing but that of enriching and aggrandizing himself and his Favourites; in foreign Affairs trusting none but such whose Education makes it impossible for them to have such Knowledge or such Qualifications as can either be of Service to their Country, or give any Weight or Credit to their Negotiations: Let us suppose the true Interest of the Nation by such Means neglected or misunderstood, her Honour and

Credit

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Credit lost, her Trade insulted, her Merchants plundered and her Sailors murdered; and all these Things overlooked, only for fear his Administration should be endangered: Suppose him next possessed of great Wealth, the Plunder of the Nation, with a Parliament of his own chusing, most of their Seats purchased, and their Votes bought at the Expence of the publick Treasure: In such a Parliament, let us suppose Attempts made to enquire into his Conduct, or to relieve the Nation from the Distress he has brought upon it; and when Lights proper for attaining those Ends are called for, not perhaps for the Information of the particular Gentlemen who call for them, but because nothing can be done in a Parliamentary Way, till these Things be in a proper Way laid before Parliament; suppose these Lights refused, these reasonable Requests rejected by a corrupt Majority of his Creatures, whom he retains in daily Pay, or engages in his particular Interest, by granting them those Posts and Plates which ought never to be given to any but for the Good of the Publick: Upon this Scandalous Victory, let us suppose this chief Minister pluming himself in Defiance, because he finds he has got a Parliament, like a packed Jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures: Let us farther suppose him arrived to that Degree of Insolence and Arrogance, as to domineer over all the Men of ancient Families, all the Men of Sense, Figure or Fortune in the Nation; and as he has no Virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all.

‘ I am still not prophesying, Sir, I am only supposing; and the Case I am going to suppose I hope never will happen; but with such a Minister and such a Parliament, let us suppose a Prince upon the Throne, either for want of true Information, or for some other Reason, ignorant and unacquainted with the Inclinations and the Interest of his People, weak, and hurried away by unbounded Ambition and insatiable Avarice: This Case, Sir, has never yet happened in this Nation; I hope, I say, ’twill never exist; but as it is possible it may, could there any greater Curse happen to a Nation, than such a Prince on the Throne, advised and solely advised by such a Minister, and that Minister supported by such a Parliament. The Nature of Mankind cannot be altered by human Laws, the Existence of such a Prince, or such a Minister we cannot prevent by Act of Parliament, but the Existence of such a Parliament I think we may; and as such a Parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more Mischief while the Septennial Law remains in Force, than if it were repealed, therefore I am most heartily for the Repeal of it.’

Mr.

Mr. Henry Pelham spoke next against the Motion :

SIR,

* The Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, as he always guards what he says, and speaks with so much Decency, that no Notice can be taken of it in a Parliamentary Way, so in the last Suppositions he was pleased to make, he observed so much Caution, that no Observations can be made on any Thing he said, as being contrary to the Orders of this House; yet whatever Suppositions he may please to make with respect to Ministers, I think he ought not to proceed any higher, and therefore I wish he had spared the last: However, Sir, as these Suppositions, and indeed every other Supposition I have heard, are all imaginary, I shall take no farther Notice of them: They were certainly foreign to the Question in Debate, and had, I think, been better let alone.

Mr. Henry
Pelham.

* As to the Contentions about Elections, I shall not pretend, Sir, to determine by whom they were begun, but I think I can easily account for their having been begun at the Time they were, and that in a Method very different from that laid down by the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last: It is well-known what a Spirit, if not of Disaffection, I am sure I may say of Distraction, was artfully raised during last Session of Parliament, in most Parts of this Nation, by the Misrepresentation of an Affair, before it was well understood, and which when it came to be explained could no way bear the Meaning they put upon it: This was thought a proper Opportunity, by those who raised that Spirit, to work upon the Passions of the People, in order to gain their Favour, and to engage their Votes, neither of which they knew they had any Chance for in any other Way; and this, Sir, I really believe, was the Reason why the Contentions about Elections began so early in most Parts of the Kingdom; so that if the Gentleman meant my Honourable Friend by me, he was very much mistaken; but if he look another Way, and that within his View, he may find out the first chief Beginner of all these Disturbances.

* As to the Question itself, Sir, as I did not intend to have troubled you in this Debate, and as the Question has been already so fully, and so handsomely opposed by the Honourable Gentleman under the Gallery, and by several others, I shall only say in general, that as I am not sensible of any Inconvenience that attends Septennial Parliaments, but what would in a much greater Degree attend Triennial, and as we know from Experience, that too frequent Elections keep the Nation in a continual Ferment, and always must expose us to the many Evils that ensue
from

Anno 7 Geo. II. from Faction and Sedition, therefore I shall give my Vote
 1733-4. against the Question.

Hereupon Mr. William Pulteney rose up, and said :

SIR,

Mr. William
 Pulteney.

‘ I intended from the Beginning, to have spoke in this Debate ; but as I now speak so late in it, I can have but little new to offer, the Gentlemen who have spoken before me, have almost entirely exhausted the Argument ; and I am sure, if those who have heard the Debate are to be determined, as I hope they will, by what has been offered for and against the Question, it will hardly bear a Division. However, as I voted for this Bill on a former Occasion, and as the principal, and indeed the only Motive, which made me do so, now no longer subsists, I think myself obliged thus publickly to declare, that I am now as zealous to have it repealed, as I then was to have it enacted. When a Country, or the Government of a Country, is in any imminent Danger, it often happens, that People think Regulations necessary, which when the Danger is over, appear to be attended with as pernicious Consequences, as that very Danger which they were made to prevent ; and in such a Case, surely every honest Man must be as fond of having them abolished, as ever he was of having them established.

‘ The Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, tho’ he let drop some Expressions with relation to that Contention already begun about our ensuing Elections, which I might take some Notice of, yet as he generally speaks with very great Candour, I think it would be too severe not to pardon any Slip he may have made in that Respect. But as to the Spirit raised in the Nation last Session of Parliament, which he says was raised by Misrepresentation, and was pleased to call a Spirit, if not of Disaffection, at least of Distracti-
 on, I do not know, but it may have been represented as such in another Place ; and whether that was a Misrepresentation, I shall leave to the World to judge. But of all Misrepresentations, I will say, the most criminal is that of misrepresenting to the King the true Sentiments and real Inclinations of his People ; for, however much some Gentlemen may find their Interest in it, I am sure it is not their Duty to do so : but I hope his present Majesty will always be able to distinguish, and it is the Duty of Parliament to inform him how to distinguish between Disaffection to his Government, and Disaffection to his Minister. If the Honourable Gentleman thinks, that the Affair which occasioned the Rise of that Spirit, was at first misrepresented, or that it gained any Advantage by being fully explained, he
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is, in the Opinion of, I believe, much the greatest Part of the Nation, vastly mistaken; for, the more seriously that Affair has been considered, the more fully it has been explained, the more horrible it has appeared: So that the Spirit, which was raised in Opposition to it, was so far from being unjustly, or groundlessly raised, that I believe it would have been for the Advantage of the Nation, that a new Election had come on, when that Spirit was in its greatest Vigour; and I hope it will not altogether subside, till the People have fully secured their Liberties against all such Attempts for the future.

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* To imagine, Sir, that frequent Elections should ever become the Cause of Faction and Sedition, is, in my Opinion, something very extraordinary; for it is certain, that Seditions have always proceeded from a general Discontent among the People, and a long Disappointment of meeting in a legal Way, with that Redress which they had reason to expect; and till this Discontent becomes violent as well as general, no Faction will ever break out into Sedition: Then indeed Faction begins to change its Name, and those Men, who at first perhaps with Justice were charged with being factious, become then the Patrons and the Protectors of the Rights of the People, and of the Liberties of their Country; for nothing can be called Faction, but when a Set of Men combine and unite together against a wise and a just Government, which no Government can be, that disoblige and irritates the generality of the People. The certain and the only Way therefore of preventing Sedition, and disappointing Faction, is to give the People frequent Opportunities of representing their Grievances, and obtaining Redress in that legal Way which is prescribed by the Constitution of their Country. Such a Way ought certainly to be established, and is established in every wise Constitution; otherwise the People will seek that by Sedition, which they find they cannot obtain by Law; and the Method which is established by our Constitution, is by a Parliament chosen by the free and uncorrupted Voice of the People; therefore in order to avoid Sedition, every Thing ought to be carefully avoided, which may tend to the interrupting the free Choice of the People; and the oftener this Choice is made, the better our Country is guarded against Sedition; because in a long Parliament the People may in the Beginning of it be disoblige; they may despair of obtaining Redress from that Parliament, and before the End their Discontents may become so violent, as to break out in Seditions and Insurrections.

* Faction and Sedition, Sir, are two Words that have always been made use of by the Advocates for Arbitrary

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Power, in order to induce the People to give up those Privileges upon which their Liberties depended, or to divert them from reassuming, or vindicating those which had been before foolishly given up, or unjustly usurped and taken from them; but it is to be hoped, those two hideous Words will never in this Country have the desired Effect. It has been already fully shewn, that the Elections for a long Parliament must always be attended with more violent Hearts and Animosities than the Election for a short, consequently the Country must always be more exposed to Factions and Seditions by the former, than by the latter: I do not know, but the Election for a Parliament may come at last to be like the Election of a King of Poland; it may be always attended with a civil War, perhaps with an unwelcome Visit from some of our Neighbours. Therefore if the Fears of Faction and Sedition be any Argument against frequent Elections, as good an Argument may from thence be drawn against electing any new Parliament at all; so that I do not know but I may see a Proposition made for continuing our Seats in this House for Life; and after that, it may be thought proper to make a Law for transmitting them to our Heirs, nay even to our Executors or Administrators.

An Honourable Gentleman seemed much surprised that the Riot-Act should have been mentioned upon this Occasion, or that any Gentleman should have the least Thought of having it repealed. Sir, I declare, upon my Honour, that of all the Actions I ever did in my Life, there is not one I more heartily and sincerely repent of, than my voting for the passing of that Law. I believe I am as little suspected of Disaffection to his Majesty or his Family as any Man in the Kingdom; it was my too great Zeal for his illustrious Family transported me to give that Vote, for which I am now heartily grieved: But even then I never imagined it was to remain a Law for ever; no, Sir! This Government is founded upon Resistance; it was the Principle of Resistance that brought about the Revolution, which cannot be justified upon any other Principle. Is then Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance to be established by a perpetual Law, by a Law the most severe and the most arbitrary of any in England, and that under a Government which owes its very Being to Resistance? The Honourable Gentleman who first mentioned it said very right, It is a Scandal it should remain in our Statute Books; and I will say, they are no Friends to his Majesty or to his Government who desire it should; for it destroys that Principle upon which is founded one of his best Titles to the Crown: While this remains a Law, we cannot well be called a free People; a little Justice of the Peace, assisted per
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Serjeant and a Parcel of Hirelings, may almost at any time have the Lives of twenty Gentlemen of the best Families in England in his Power.

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* As to Bribery and Corruption, Sir, it has been so fully and so clearly demonstrated that Septennial Parliaments are more liable than Triennial to be influenced by such base Methods, that I shall conclude with observing what every Gentleman I believe is sensible of: It is come to a most intolerable Height; in many, nay in most Parts of our Constitution, we are sunk to the lowest and vilest Dregs of Corruption; and if some extraordinary Event do not prevent it, our Constitution will soon be irrecoverably lost.

To this Sir Robert Walpole replied:

SIR,

* I do assure you, I did not intend to have troubled you in this Debate, but such Incidents now generally happen towards the End of our Debates, nothing at all relating to the Subject, and Gentlemen make such Suppositions, meaning some Person, or perhaps, as they say, no Person now in Being, and talk so much of wicked Ministers, domineering Ministers, Ministers pluming themselves in Defiances, which Terms, and such like, have been of late so much made use of in this House, that if they really mean no body either in the House or out of it, yet it must be supposed they at least mean to call upon some Gentleman in this House to make them a Reply: and therefore I hope I may be allowed to draw a Picture in my Turn; and I may likewise say, that I do not mean to give a Description of any particular Person now in Being. When Gentlemen talk of Ministers abandoned to all Sense of Virtue or Honour, other Gentlemen may, I am sure, with equal Justice, and, I think, more justly, speak of Anti-ministers and Mock-patriots, who never had either Virtue or Honour, but in the whole Course of their Opposition are actuated only by Motives of Envy, and of Resentment against those who may have disappointed them in their Views, or may not perhaps have complied with all their Desires.

Sir Robert
Walpole.

But now, Sir, let me too suppose, and the House being cleared, I am sure no Person that hears me can come within the Description of the Person I am to suppose: Let us suppose in this, or in some other unfortunate Country, an Anti-minister, who thinks himself a Person of so great and extensive Parts, and of so many eminent Qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only Person in the Kingdom capable to conduct the publick Affairs of the Nation, and therefore christening every other Gentleman, who has the Honour to be employed in the Administration, by the Name

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of Blunderer : Suppose this fine Gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his Party some Persons really of fine Parts, of ancient Families, and of great Fortunes, and others of desperate Views, arising from disappointed and malicious Hearts ; all these Gentlemen, with respect to their political Behaviour, moved by him, and by him solely ; all they say, either in private or publick, being only a Repetition of the Words he has put into their Mouths, and a spitting out of that Venom which he has infused into them ; and yet we may suppose this Leader not really liked by any, even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of Mankind : We'll suppose this Anti-minister to be in a Country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an Effect of too much Goodness and Mercy, yet endeavouring with all his Might, and with all his Art, to destroy the Fountain from whence that Mercy flowed : In that Country, suppose him continually contracting Friendships and Familiarities with the Ambassadors of those Princes, who at the Time happen to be most at Enmity with his own. And if at any Time it should happen to be for the Interest of any of those foreign Ministers to have a Secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native Country, as well as to all its Friends ; suppose this foreign Minister applying to him, and he answering, I'll get it you, tell me but what you want, I'll endeavour to procure it for you. Upon this, he puts a Speech or two in the Mouths of some of his Creatures, or some of his new Converts : what he wants, is moved for in Parliament ; and when so very reasonable a Request as this is refused, suppose him and his Creatures and Tools, by his Advice, spreading the Alarm over the whole Nation, and crying out, Gentlemen, our Country is at present involved in many dangerous Difficulties, all which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked Minister, and a corrupt Majority, refused us the proper Materials ; and upon this scandalous Victory, this Minister became so insolent as to plume himself in Defiances. Let us farther suppose this Anti-minister to have travelled, and at every Court where he was, thinking himself the greatest Minister, and making it his Trade to betray the Secrets of every Court where he had before been ; void of all Faith or Honour, and betraying every Master he ever served. Sir, I could carry my Suppositions a great deal farther ; and, I may say, I mean no Person now in Being : but if we can suppose such a one, can there be imagined a greater Disgrace to Human Nature than such a Wretch as this ?

Now,

‘ Now, Sir, to be serious, and to talk really to the Subject in hand: Tho’ the Question has been already so fully and so handsomely opposed by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, by the learned Gentleman near me, and by several others, that there is no great Occasion to say any Thing farther against it; yet as some new Matter has been started by some of the Gentlemen who have since that Time spoke upon the other Side of the Question, I hope the House will indulge me the Liberty of giving some of those Reasons which induce me to be against the Motion. In general, I must take Notice, that the Nature of our Constitution seems to be very much mistaken by the Gentlemen who have spoken in favour of this Motion. It is certain, that ours is a mixt Government, and the Perfection of our Constitution consists in this, that the Monarchical, Aristocratical and Democratical Forms of Government are mixt and interwoven in ours, so as to give us all the Advantages of each, without subjecting us to the Dangers and Inconveniencies of either. The Democratical Form of Government, which is the only one I have now Occasion to take Notice of, is liable to these Inconveniencies, That they are generally too tedious in their coming to any Resolution, and seldom brisk and expeditious enough in carrying their Resolutions into Execution: That they are always wavering in their Resolutions, and never steady in any of the Measures they resolve to pursue; and that they are often involved in Factions, Seditions and Insurrections, which exposes them to be made the Tools, if not the Prey of their Neighbours: Therefore in all the Regulations we make, with respect to our Constitution, we are to guard against running too much into that Form of Government which is properly called Democratical: This was, in my Opinion, the Effect of the Triennial Law, and will again be the Effect, if ever it should be restored.

‘ That Triennial Elections would make our Government too tedious in all their Resolves, is evident, because in such Case, no prudent Administration would ever resolve upon any Measure of Consequence, till they had felt not only the Pulse of the Parliament, but the Pulse of the People; and the Ministers of State would always labour under this Disadvantage, that as Secrets of State must not be immediately divulged, their Enemies (and Enemies they will always have) would have a Handle for exposing their Measures, and rendering them disagreeable to the People, and thereby carrying perhaps a new Election against them, before they could have an Opportunity of justifying their Measures, by divulging those Facts and Circumstances from

whence

1733-4. *Amoy Geo. II.* whence the Justice and the Wisdom of their Measures would clearly appear.

Then, Sir, it is by Experience well known, that what is called the Populace of every Country, are apt to be too much elated with Success, and too much dejected with every Misfortune; this makes them wavering in their Opinions about Affairs of State, and never long of the same Mind: and as this House is chosen by the free and unbiassed Voice of the People in general, if this Choice were so often renewed, we might expect, that this House would be as wavering, and as unsteady as the People usually are; and it being impossible to carry on the publick Affairs of the Nation without the Concurrence of this House, the Ministers would always be obliged to comply, and consequently would be obliged to change their Measures as often as the People changed their Minds.

With Septennial Parliaments, Sir, we are not exposed to either of these Misfortunes, because, if the Ministers, after having felt the Pulse of the Parliament, which they can always soon do, resolve upon any Measures, they have generally Time enough before the new Election comes on, to give the People a proper Information, in order to shew them the Justice and the Wisdom of the Measures they have pursued; and if the People should at any Time be too much elated, or too much dejected, or should without a Cause change their Minds, those at the Helm of Affairs have Time to set them Right, before a new Election comes on.

As to Faction and Sedition, Sir, I will grant that in Monarchical and Aristocratical Governments, it generally arises from Violence and Oppression; but in Democratical Governments, it always arises from the People's having too great a Share in the Government: for in all Countries, and in all Governments, there always will be many factious and unquiet Spirits, who can never be at Rest either in Power or out of Power: When in Power, they are never easy, unless every Man submits entirely to their Direction; and when out of Power, they are always working and intriguing against those that are in, without any Regard to Justice, or to the Interest of their Country. In popular Governments such Men have too much Game, they have too many Opportunities for working upon and corrupting the Minds of the People, in order to give them a bad Impression of, and to raise Discontents against those that have the Management of the publick Affairs for the Time; and these Discontents often break out into Seditions and Insurrections. This, Sir, would in my Opinion be our Misfortune, if our Parliaments were either Annual or Triennial: By such frequent Elections, there would

would be so much Power thrown into the Hands of the People, as would destroy that equal Mixture, which is the Beauty of our Constitution: In short, our Government would really become a Democratical Government, and might from thence very probably diverge into a tyrannical. Therefore, in order to preserve our Constitution, in order to prevent our falling under Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, we ought to preserve that Law, which I really think has brought our Constitution to a more equal Mixture, and consequently greater Perfection than it was ever in before that Law took place.

* As to Bribery and Corruption, Sir, if it were possible to influence, by such base Means, the Majority of the Electors of Great Britain, to chuse such Men as would probably give up their Liberties; if it were possible to influence, by such Means, a Majority of the Members of this House to consent to the Establishment of Arbitrary Power, I should readily allow, that the Calculations made by the Gentlemen of the other Side were just, and their Inference true; but I am persuaded, that neither of these is possible. As the Members of this House generally are, and must always be, Gentlemen of Fortune and Figure in their Country; is it possible to suppose, that any of them could, by a Pension or a Post be influenced to consent to the Overthrow of our Constitution, by which the Enjoyment, not only of what he got, but of what he before had, would be rendered altogether precarious? I will allow, Sir, that with respect to Bribery, the Price must be higher or lower, generally in proportion to the Virtue of the Man who is to be bribed; but it must likewise be granted, that the Humour he happens to be in at the Time, the Spirit he happens to be endowed with, adds a great deal to his Virtue: When no Incroachments are made upon the Rights of the People, when the People do not think themselves in any danger, there may be many of the Electors, who, by a Bribe of ten Guineas, might be induced to vote for one Candidate rather than another; but if the Court were making any Incroachments upon the Rights of the People, a proper Spirit would, without doubt, arise in the Nation, and in such a Case I am persuaded, that none, or very few, even of such Electors, could be induced to vote for a Court Candidate, no not for ten times the Sum.

* There may, Sir, be some Bribery and Corruption in the Nation, I am afraid there will always be some; but it is no Proof of it, that Strangers are sometimes chosen: for a Gentleman may have too much natural Influence over a Borough in his Neighbourhood, as to be able to prevail

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prevail with them to chuse any Person he pleases to recommend; and if upon such Recommendation they chuse one or two of his Friends, who are perhaps Strangers to them, it is not from thence to be inferred, that the two Strangers were chosen their Representatives by the Means of Bribery and Corruption.

To insinuate, Sir, that Money may be issued from the publick Treasury for bribing Elections, is really something very extraordinary; especially in those Gentlemen who know how many Checks are upon every Shilling that can be issued from thence; and how regularly the Money granted in one Year for the publick Service of the Nation, must always be accounted for the very next Session in this House, and likewise in the other, if they have a mind to call for any such Account. And as to the Gentlemen in Offices, if they have any Advantage over Country Gentlemen, in having something else to depend on besides their own private Fortunes, they have likewise many Disadvantages: They are obliged to live here at London with their Families, by which they are put to a much greater Expence, than Gentlemen of equal Fortunes who live in the Country: This lays them under a very great Disadvantage, with respect to the supporting their Interest in the Country. The Country Gentleman, by living among the Electors, and purchasing the Necessaries for his Family from them, keeps up an Acquaintance and Correspondence with them, without putting himself to any extraordinary Charge; whereas a Gentleman who lives in London, has no other Way of keeping up an Acquaintance or Correspondence among his Friends in the Country, but by going down once or twice a Year at a very extraordinary Charge, and often without any other Business: so that we may conclude, a Gentleman in Office cannot, even in seven Years, save much for distributing in ready Money, at the Time of an Election; and I really believe, if the Fact were narrowly enquir'd into, it would appear, that the Gentlemen in Office are as little guilty of bribing their Electors with ready Money, as any other Set of Gentlemen in the Kingdom.

That there are Ferments often raised among the People without any just Cause, is what I am surpris'd to hear controverted, since very late Experience may convince us of the contrary: Do not we know what a Ferment was raised in the Nation towards the latter End of the late Queen's Reign? and it is well known what a fatal Change in the Affairs of this Nation was introduced, or at least confirmed by an Election's coming on while the Nation was in that Ferment. Do not we know what

a Ferment was raised in the Nation soon after his late Majesty's Accession? And if an Election had then been allowed to come on while the Nation was in that Ferment, it might perhaps have had as fatal Effects as the former; but, thank God, this was wisely provided against by the very Law which is now wanted to be repealed.

'It has indeed, Sir, been said, That the chief Motive for enacting that Law now no longer exists: I cannot admit that the Motive they mean was the chief Motive; but even that Motive is very far from having entirely ceased. Can Gentlemen imagine, that in the Spirit raised in the Nation but about a Twelvemonth since, Jacobitism and Disaffection to the present Government had no Share? Perhaps some who might wish well to the present Establishment did co-operate, nay, I do not know but they were the first Movers of that Spirit; but it cannot be supposed that the Spirit then raised should have grown up to such a Ferment, merely from a Proposition which was honestly and fairly laid before a Parliament, and left entirely to their Determination. No, Sir, the Spirit was perhaps begun by those who are truly Friends to the illustrious Family we have now upon the Throne; but it was raised to a much greater Height than, I believe, even they designed by Jacobites, and such as are Enemies to our present Establishment, who thought they never had a fairer Opportunity of bringing about what they have so long and so unsuccessfully wished for, than that which had been furnished them by those who first raised that Spirit. I hope the People have now in a great measure come to themselves, and therefore I doubt not but the next Elections will shew, that when they are left to judge coolly they can distinguish between the real and the pretended Friends to the Government: But I must say, if the Ferment then raised in the Nation had not already greatly subsided, I should have thought a new Election a very dangerous Experiment; and as such Ferments may hereafter often happen, I must think that frequent Elections will always be dangerous; for which Reason, in so far as I can see at present, I shall, I believe, at all Times think it a very dangerous Experiment to repeal the Septennial Bill.'

Then the Question being put upon Mr. Bromley's Motion, it pass'd in the Negative by 247 to 184.

March 28, Sir Robert Walpole presented to the House the following Message from his Majesty:

Mr. Bromley's Motion for repealing the Septennial Act pass'd in the Negative.

Sir Robert Walpole presents a Message from the King, to enable his Majesty to augment his Forces, if Occasion should require it, between the Dissolution of this Parliament and the Election of another.

GEORGE R.

" His Majesty very thankfully acknowledges the Zeal and Affection which this Parliament has shewn, in the early Dispatch they have already made in the necessary Supplies for the Publick Service. But the War which has broke out in Europe, still unhappily continuing, His Majesty has nothing more at Heart than to see that Flame extinguished, and to avoid, if possible, the engaging His Subjects in the Hazards and Expence of a War; being at the same time desirous neither to give any just Alarm to other Nations, nor subject himself to any unprovoked Insults.—In this view, and to the end that His Majesty's Endeavours, in Conjunction with His Allies, for procuring an Accommodation, may in due time have the desir'd Effect, and that His Majesty may be in a Condition to make good such Engagements as Honour, Justice, and Prudence may call upon him to fulfil or contract, and that his Kingdom may not be left exposed to any desperate Attempts, during such time as it may be impossible for His Majesty to have the immediate Advice and Assistance of his Great Council; upon any Emergency arising from the present Posture of Affairs in Europe, which may nearly concern the Interest and Safety of these Kingdoms; His Majesty hopes, he shall be enabled and supported by his Parliament, in making such future Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may be absolutely necessary for the Honour and Defence of His Kingdom; and in concerting such Measures as the Exigency of Affairs may require. Whatever Augmentations shall be made, or Services performed on Account thereof, shall be laid before the next Parliament."

Debate on a Motion for taking the said Message into Consideration.
Mr. William Shippen.

A Motion being made by Sir Robert Walpole, for taking the said Message into Consideration the next Day, Mr. Shippen stood up; and said,

SIR,

" When I reflect upon what happened in this House the very first Day of this Session, I am a good deal surpris'd at a Message of this Nature; and the more, that it is now brought in upon us at the very End of a Session, and that Session, I suppose, the last of a long Parliament. I remember that I, as well as some other Gentlemen, took Exception at some Words propos'd to be in our Address, in Answer to his Majesty's Speech from the Throne at the Opening of this Session, because they seem'd to bear something like a Promise of a Vote of Credit; upon which Occasion the Honourable Gentleman who has made you this Motion, and his Friends, pretended to be greatly astonish'd at our

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Sagacity, and seemed, as I then thought, to give us Assurances that nothing of that Kind should be asked for in this Session.

‘ I must confess, Sir, I had some sort of Dependence upon what they said, but as they were only the Words and Promises of Ministers of State, in which I never had any great Faith, I begin now to be ashamed even of that little Confidence I put in them. I do not know indeed but they may now find an Excuse for their Breach of Promise in this respect; for I must grant that what they now ask for is not properly a Vote of Credit, it is an absolute Surrender of all we have in the World. This, indeed, is laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree, and may prevent our being ever troubled with any Demands for the future: But as this is an Affair of the greatest Consequence to the whole Nation, as well as to the Gentlemen now in this House, I hope some longer Time will be given to Gentlemen to consider of such an extraordinary Demand, before they be obliged to determine what they are to do; for if they once agree to such a Grant, it may be generously and voluntarily restored, but it will never be in their Power to resume it.

‘ When we come to take the Message into our Consideration, I don’t doubt, Sir, but the Honourable Gentleman who brought it will not only give us the Reasons, why it became necessary for his Majesty to send us such a Message; but why it was so long in being sent; therefore I shall not till then so much suspect his Candour, as to think there was any unfair Design in delaying it till so many Gentlemen are gone into the Country: but as it has been so long delay’d, I hope some few Days will be granted before we take it into Consideration, that some of those Gentlemen may have Time to return: I shall not pretend to name any Day; but if the Honourable Gentleman will be so good as to withdraw his Motion, I doubt not of some other Gentleman’s rising up to propose some more distant Day.’

To this Sir Robert Walpole replied;

SIR,

‘ I have not forgot what pass’d in this House the first Day of the Session: I remember that some Gentlemen did then take Exceptions to some Expressions in the Address proposed, as if a Promise of a Vote of Credit was couched under these Expressions: And upon that Occasion I might for once take the liberty to assure the House, that no such Use should be made, or was intended to be made, of any Expression then proposed to be put into our Address. This, I remember, was what I said, and I said no more: Nor can I believe that any more was said by any Gentleman in

Sir Robert
Walpole.

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this House; for as the Necessity of demanding Votes of Credit depend upon future Events, it would have been ridiculous for any Gentleman to have pretended to have promised, that no such Thing should be desired.

As to the Message itself, it is not now proper to enter into the Merits of it, or into the Causes which have produced it; but in all the Time I have had the Honour to sit in Parliament, I remember no Instance where a Message, signed by the King, has not been next Day taken into Consideration. This is a Respect which has been always paid to the Crown; and I am sure his present Majesty has never done any thing to merit less Respect being paid by the Parliament to him, than what has been paid to all his Predecessors. I am persuaded, when we come to enter into the Merits of the Message, there can be no Reason found for making a Distinction between this and the former Messages of the like nature; and the Necessity of sending it at this Conjunction will be made fully appear: therefore, as I have already moved, I hope the House will take it into Consideration to-morrow Morning.

Sir William Wyndham spoke next:

SIR,

Sir William
Wyndham.

I must own my Surprise is as great as my worthy Friend's, that a Message of this nature should be sent to this House so near the Close of this Session; for whatever Promises were or were not made the first Day of the Session, I am very sure most Gentlemen expected that every thing of Consequence had been over long before this Time; and upon this general Presumption, a great many Gentlemen, who have not the Honour to be let into Ministerial Secrets, are gone into the Country; it being at present more necessary, perhaps, than usual, for such Gentlemen to return to their respective Countries, in order to prevent their being bought and jobbed out of that natural Interest by which only they can expect to enjoy the Honour of representing their Country in Parliament. But however necessary their Presence may be at this Time, yet if Time be allowed them, I doubt not but most of them will think it their Duty to return to the Service of their Country in this House, when they hear that a Matter of so very great Importance is to come before us; it is, I think, Sir, a Matter of the highest Importance; it is, as my worthy Friend called it, an absolute Surrender of our All, a Surrender of the Rights, and a delegating the Power of Parliament to the Crown. This absolute Power, 'tis true, is now demanded but till next Session of Parliament; but if it were not for the great Confidence I repose in his present Majesty,

jesty, I should be much afraid the next Session would never be allowed to meet, unless upon the new Election a Majority of the Members should appear to be such as would be ready to confirm, or to renew that Surrender.

* The honourable Gentleman on the Floor has told us, that it has always been usual to shew so much Respect to the Crown, as to take such Messages as the present into our Consideration the very next Day, and that he remembers no Instance to the contrary. 'Tis true, Sir, since I have sat in Parliament, I remember many, but too many, Messages something of this Nature; and I believe they have always been taken into Consideration the next Day; but that did not proceed so much from the Respect we owe to the Crown, as from the Cause of sending the Message: There never was a Message of this kind sent from the Crown, but when the Nation was threatened with some such thing as an immediate Invasion or Insurrection, which in the Body of the Message was expressed to be the Reason or Cause of sending such a Message; and as in such Cases the near Approach of the Danger required the immediate concerting of proper Measures to prevent it, we may suppose this was the chief Reason of their being so immediately taken into Consideration by this House. But as we are generally apt to improve upon bad Precedents, I will be bold to say, there never was such a Message sent to Parliament as the present, either with respect to its Nature, to the Reason of sending it, or to the Time of its being sent. By no Message that was ever sent to Parliament, was there an absolute and unlimited Power demanded by the Crown; which to every Gentleman must appear, at first sight, to be the Demand now made upon us: there was never such a Message sent to Parliament, but what informed us of some immediate Danger impending, and just ready to fall upon the Nation. By the present Message we are told of no such Thing; nor do I believe that any such Thing can be pretended: and I remember no Instance of a Message any way resembling this, that ever was sent to this House the very End of a Session, and that Session the last of a Parliament.

* I cannot indeed, Sir, form to my self a Reason why any such Message should have been at all sent; and much less can I form a Reason why it should have been sent at such a remarkable Time; therefore I must think, that Gentlemen will certainly expect to be informed by those who are able to inform them, what Necessity there was for this Message, and from what sudden, and, till now, unforeseen Change in our Affairs the sending of such a Message has now become more necessary, than it was at any Time during the former

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part of the Session : But whatever may be told us as to this particular, considering that almost one half of the House are, for Reasons we all know, retired to the Country, in Decency, I think, and out of Regard to our own Proceedings, as well as out of Respect to the Crown ; whatever is to be done in consequence of this Message, ought to be done in a full House. Whether you should order a Call, or which may be a shorter and more effectual Method, direct Letters to the Sheriffs, I shall leave to Gentlemen to determine ; but one of the two ought certainly to be done, unless the honourable Gentleman who brought us the Message, will rise up and inform us of some imminent Danger we are now threatned with : and, even in that case, I think some few Days ought to be allowed, that those Gentlemen, at least, who are at no great Distance, may have Time to come up, and attend the Service of the House upon this important Occasion ; otherwise it will look like stealing a Resolution of the House, when Gentlemen's Backs are turned ; which, I am sure, can testify no great Respect to the Crown. Sir, if we are really threatened with any immediate Danger, I shall propose the taking of this Message into our Consideration on Monday or Tuesday next ; and I am sure, let the Necessity be never so pressing, let the Danger be never so great, so short a Delay can be attended with no great Inconvenience ; and whatever Resolution you may come to, it will carry the greater Weight, and will be the more effectual for obviating any impending Danger.

To this Sir William Yonge answered :

SIR,

Sir William
Yonge.

I remember no Promises or Assurances given the first Day of the Session, other than those which the honourable Gentleman by me has fully and rightly stated to you ; and as no Gentleman has drawn, or, I believe, will draw any Argument in favour of the present Question, from any Words or Expressions in the Address then agreed to, I do not think that either the Promises then made, or the Assurances then given, can have any relation to the present Debate. But Gentlemen are very apt, I find, to wander from the Affair in hand ; and in particular, the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, has entered a good deal into the Merits of the Question, which I cannot think either proper or necessary at present ; for, in my Opinion, all that is now before us, is, whether we should take the Message into our Consideration to-morrow, or put it off for a longer Day ; and therefore I shall confine myself entirely to this, without anticipating your future Debate with relation to the

the Message itself. As to the Question now before us, the honourable Gentleman who spoke last owns, that he knows of no Message from the Crown that was ever sent to Parliament, but what was next Day taken into Consideration; and by this, I really think he seems to give up the Question; but then he has endeavoured to make a Distinction between this Message and those formerly sent by the Crown to Parliament: Whether any such Distinction can be made or not, is, in my Opinion, a Question that cannot be resolved till we come to take the Message into our Consideration; and then, I believe every Gentleman in this House will see that there is no material Difference between this and former Messages of the like nature. As to the Time of sending this Message, it is certain that the Crown never does send such Messages, but when some Exigency of Affairs, in a manner, forces them to do so. It is always the Necessities of State that obliges the Crown to ask for any extraordinary Powers from Parliament; and whether the Necessity for asking for such Powers falls out early or late in a Session, or in the first or last Session of a Parliament, seems not material. It is by the Necessity there is for granting such Powers, that Gentlemen are to be induced to grant the Powers demanded, and not by any Consideration as to the Time of making the Demand: And as it cannot appear to us, whether the Necessity for granting what is now asked for, be urgent or not, till we have taken the Message into Consideration, as it cannot till then appear whether the shortest Delay may not be attended with great Inconveniencies, therefore the sooner it is taken into Consideration, the better; for which Reason I must think, that the Motion made by the honourable Gentleman near me, for taking it into Consideration to-morrow Morning, is a proper and a right Motion: And whoever has a mind to shew us the contrary, will, I hope, confine himself to that only, without entering into the Merits of the Question.

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Sir John Barnard spoke next:

SIR,

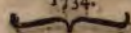
* The honourable Gentleman who spoke last, has been pleased to find fault with my worthy Friend by me, for entering, as he called it, into the Merits of the Question; but that Gentleman ought to consider, that there is a very great Difference between speaking to the Nature of a Question, and entering into the Merits of it. My worthy Friend spoke, indeed, as to the Nature of the Message now before us; and I would gladly know, from the honourable Gentleman over the Way, or any other, how it is possible to speak to the present Question, as to the Necessity

Sir John
Barnard.

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of its being taken into Consideration to-morrow, without explaining a little the Nature of what is to be taken into Consideration; but no Gentleman has as yet entered into the Merits of the Message, which I take to be, Whether it ought to be complied with or not?

I hope neither the hon. Gentleman, nor any other Gentleman, will lay it down as an infallible and unalterable Rule, that this House is to take every Message immediately into their Consideration that may be hereafter brought from the Crown; and if we have any Liberty in this Respect, surely we must examine a little into the Nature of the Message sent us, in order to determine, whether we are immediately to take the Message into our Consideration, or defer it to a longer Day. If upon the Face of the Message it had appeared, if his Majesty had thereby so much as insinuated, that the Nation had been in any immediate Danger, I should have readily agreed to the Motion now made to us; but as no such Thing is insinuated, nor can, I believe, be supposed, I cannot think there is any Necessity for our entering so immediately into the Consideration of a Question of so great Importance: it may perhaps be the last Question that can ever be taken into Consideration by a legal and free Parliament of Great-Britain; therefore, I think it extremely reasonable to give a few Days to those Gentlemen who are here to consider of it, and that those who are absent, at least such as are near the Town, may have Time to return.'

Sir John Barnard was back'd by Lord Coleraine, as follows:

SIR,

Lord Coleraine.

'Tho' a just Sense of my Inability to speak my Mind here, in a manner worthy the Attention of this august Assembly, and becoming the Character of a Member thereof, heighten'd with the great Awe that strikes me on every such Attempt, has generally oblig'd me to bury in Silence such Thoughts as have occurred to me in the several weighty Debates at which I have had the Honour to assist, during the most Part of this present Parliament; and content myself with attending to those that have expressed their own Sentiments (sometimes not different from mine) with that becoming Freedom and Copiousness, that engaging Propriety and Eloquence, to which I dare not aspire; yet my disinterested Love to my Country, and a due Regard to the great Trust reposed in every one of us, will not permit me to be always confin'd within the safer Limits of a simple Negative or Affirmative.

'When we were called upon from the Throne at the opening of this Session, to grant, in Regard of a distant War, larger

larger Supplies than have perhaps ever been known in time of Peace, when on the seeming Assurance so early given us by an honourable and knowing Gentleman, principally employ'd in the Conduct of Affairs both at home and abroad, we proceeded with such Dispatch in providing for the Public Service recommended to our Care, as to obtain, after little more than two Months sitting (what must be ever grateful to every Member of this House) His Majesty's thankful Acknowledgments of our approved Zeal and dutiful Affection: Then I say (and I believe I speak the Sense of many) this expiring Parliament could have expected any thing as soon as to receive the Honour of his Majesty's Thanks accompanied (if not alloy'd) with a Desire that we would, with our last public Breath, subject our Countrymen to further unlimited, and perhaps unnecessary Burthens, by delegating a Power we are quickly to resign into the Hands of the Crown, which may be advised by its Ministers to use it further than we could think it necessary or reasonable to do.

Thus we may indeed pay a Compliment, not only to the Crown and its Minister, but even to their favourite Embryo, the next approaching Parliament, by making ourselves answerable for the Burthen of those Forces, that may thus be rais'd, when we shall have no Authority, as well as the ample Supplies we granted while we had. But I cannot think this would be a just Return to our Electors, or a kind Legacy to the rest of our Fellow-Subjects. Nay, it appears to me a very melancholly Prospect, to look upon this Nation as left still expos'd to any such desperate Attempts as may hazard our Safety, when such Supplies have been already voted and provided for, when the War is seated so far from us, our properest Allies so much more immediately concern'd in it, and the next Parliament in so great a Forwardness to be elected and convened, to enable his Majesty to make such further Augmentations by Sea and Land, as may become necessary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms.

I well remember, that when some Gentlemen propos'd at the Beginning of the Session, humbly to address his Majesty to let us know how far his good Offices had proceeded with one or other of the contending Powers, and what Engagements, if any, had been enter'd into on his Part; that Enquiry was oppos'd, and we were given to believe that little or nothing had been engag'd: But now we are told of Engagements in Honour and Justice to be fulfill'd, as well as others in Prudence to be contracted. But I would yet hope, that without this extraordinary Vote his Majesty's Endeavours to procure an happy Accommodation may be suc-

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ful; and that the rather, because we are again told, that they are to be used in Conjunction with his Ally; and it does not yet appear, that our most natural, necessary, and interested Ally against a powerful Kingdom near us, is engaged, or willing to engage in behalf of their Great Neighbour, who they are said to have declar'd too hastily engaged in the Quarrel. I think we ought not in Prudence to be before-hand with that Neighbour-State on this Occasion, lest unawares we become Principals in a bloody and expensive War, while they that are more immediately concerned, enjoy an Increase of Commerce, and wait the Fruits of our Blood and Treasure.

* For these Reasons, I am against extending our own Power beyond its just Duration, and invading the Rights of a succeeding Parliament.

Then Mr. Plumer stood up, and said :

Mr. Plumer.

SIR, I shall always be as ready as any Gentleman in this House, to concur on all Occasions in strengthening the Hands of the Crown in a proper Manner, and when it shall appear necessary; but as the Powers now demanded are of a most extraordinary Nature, as the granting of them will certainly be a giving up in a great measure the Power of Parliament for a Time; if we are to make such a Grant, I think it ought not to be precipitantly made. It ought to be done with the greatest Caution, and in as full a House, as can possibly be had.

* As to the Respect we ought to shew to the Crown, it has nothing to do with the present Question: Our Respect to the Crown, Sir, has nothing to do with this Message, or any Message that can come from the Crown; for tho' they bear the King's Name, yet, when we come to consider them, we are to look upon them as coming from the Ministers, and we may treat them in such a manner as we think they deserve, without incroaching in the least upon that Respect we owe to the Crown. Are we to be told, that, out of Respect to the Crown, we must always take such Messages immediately into our Consideration? Sir, if this Doctrine should prevail, we shall next be told, that, out of Respect to the Crown we ought always to comply with such Messages; and then it will be in the Power of the Ministers to advise the Crown to send such Messages, as may be very dishonourable for the Parliament to comply with, nay, inconsistent with the real Interest of the Crown, however necessary for the Purposes of the Ministers at the Time.

* By the Law of England, Sir, we know, that when a
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Man is dying and about to make his Will, if any real Estate is thereby to be devised, the Will must be made before three Witnesses, which is a greater Number than is necessary upon any other Occasion: We are, Sir, a dying Parliament, and the Crown now desires we should make our Will; and leave them by way of Legacy all we have in the World. If we are to do so, I think we ought to call, at least as many Witnesses, as are usual upon most other Occasions; and therefore we ought to delay the Consideration of this Message, till the absent Members have Time to return.

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The Question being then put, on Sir Robert Walpole's Motion, it passed in the Affirmative, by 211 to 121.

March 29. The above Message from the King being taken into Consideration; Sir Robert Walpole stood up, and spoke as follows:

SIR,

As I had the Honour, to bring his Majesty's most gracious Message to this House, and likewise to move for your taking it this Day under your Consideration, I think it incumbent on me to offer what I judge to be proper, adviseable, and even becoming this House to do upon it. The Manner, Sir, in which his Majesty's Speech was conceived, the Difference that was observable in it from former Speeches, the Notice thereby given by his Majesty to Parliament of the Situation of Affairs abroad, must have made every Gentleman who heard it expect, that something of this Nature might possibly come before you some Time this Session. His Majesty in that Speech told us, that the War which had begun in Europe still continued; and tho' his Majesty then declared that he had no Part, except by his good Offices, in those Transactions, which had been declared to be the principal Causes and Motives of the War, yet, I believe, there was not a Gentleman in the House but supposed, that his Majesty might possibly be obliged to take a Share in the War, in order to prevent too much Power's being thrown into one Scale, whereby the Ballance of Power in Europe would be overturned, and consequently every Gentleman must have expected such a Message as this, in case the Tranquillity of Europe could not by Way of Negotiation be restored before the End of this Session.

Sir Robert
Walpole.

When Gentlemen expect, Sir, to hear Reasons given why this Message comes now, and was not brought sooner, and seem to insinuate, as if this must proceed from some sudden and unforeseen Change of Affairs, all

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I can answer is, that we are now in the same Situation we were in at the Opening of the Session; some little Variation may perhaps have hapened, but our Circumstances are in general the same, and their remaining so is, in my poor Opinion, a sufficient Reason for his Majesty's making this Application to his Parliament, and for our coming to such a Resolution as I shall by and by have the Honour to move to you. If any extraordinary Change had happened in the Affairs of Europe, or with respect to our own particular Circumstances, during the Continuance of the Session, his Majesty could immediately, and without any Delay, have applied to his Parliament for what was proper to be done upon such an Occasion; but as the War still continues, no Man can pretend to foresee what Changes may soon happen, or how soon his Majesty, in Conjunction with his Allies, may be obliged to give Assistance where the Interest of this Nation, and the Preservation of the Liberties of Europe may call immediately for it: And as this Session of Parliament is drawing towards a Close, as this Parliament may probably be soon dissolved, his Majesty will not then have the Opportunity of applying immediately to his Parliament for what may appear to be necessary for the Defence of the Nation, in case any Change should happen during the Interval of Parliament, which makes it absolutely necessary to furnish his Majesty with such Powers as are now asked for, before this Session break up; and the furnishing him now with such a Power, cannot be in the least more inconvenient for the Nation than it would have been at the Beginning of the Session.

Ever since the Beginning of this Session, his Majesty, in Conjunction with other Powers, has been endeavouring by Negotiation to reconcile the jarring Interests of the several Powers now at War, and to restore the Tranquillity of Europe; if these Negotiations had succeeded, there would have been no Occasion for this Message, there would have been no Occasion for putting this Nation to any additional Expence; and though these Negotiations have not yet had the desired Effect, yet his Majesty's Proposals are not altogether rejected, which makes it still unnecessary to put the Nation to any immediate Expence: This shews his Majesty's tender Care for his People, as well as the Wisdom and Integrity of those he is pleased to advise with upon such Occasions: It shews how unwilling he is to put the Nation to any extraordinary Expence, as long as it can possibly be avoided; but the great Concern his Majesty has, for the Peace and Quiet of his People, and the Uncertainty in which the Affairs of Europe still continue,

tinue, lay his Majesty under a Necessity of thus desiring his Parliament to strengthen his Hands in such a Manner, as that he may be able to provide against any the most distant Dangers, with which this Nation may happen to be threatened, after the End of this, and before the Meeting of a new Parliament.

If Gentlemen will but consider the present Circumstances of Europe in general, and of that Nation in particular, from the Situation of whose Country we must always have most to fear, I believe the Necessity of the Motion I am to make will pretty evidently appear. France has now a large Fleet assembled in one of those Ports which lie nearest to this Island: The Ships are all fitted out, and almost ready to put to Sea; and there are, as we are told, several thousand Men ready to be shipt on board that Fleet. I believe, Sir, there is nothing designed against us; but when we know that a large Squadron of French Men of War, with an Army of six or eight thousand Veteran Troops is to pass through the British Channel, I should think one in the Station in which I have the Honour so unworthily to serve the Crown, did his Duty but very ill, if upon such an Occasion he did not advise the taking of all necessary Care, for putting the Nation in a proper Posture of Defence.

I repeat it again, Sir, I do sincerely believe that the Nation is in Safety, but I do not desire that the Safety of the Nation should entirely depend on my Belief; I have, I think, good Reason to believe, that the French Squadron is designed elsewhere; but if from new Counsels, from any Jealousy groundlessly conceived, or any sudden Change in their Measures, that Squadron should come this Way, I must say, that in our present Situation I do not know what the Consequence might be: and therefore I must think, that those who have the Honour to advise the King, have done their Duty in advising him to make this Application to Parliament. Tho' we are not yet engaged in the War, though no Power in Europe has yet openly declared against us, yet the present Circumstances of Europe are such, the present Circumstances of this Nation are such, that, I believe, I might leave the Question to rest wholly upon them; and I am convinced that no Gentleman, who considers them impartially, can refuse agreeing to what his Majesty has, by his most gracious Message, desired.

His Majesty is not willing to alarm any foreign Power, by making an unnecessary Augmentation of his Forces either by Sea or Land; but he desires to have a Power at least of providing against any unprovoked Insults: He

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is resolved not to put the Nation to any unnecessary Expence; but he desires not to disoblige his Allies, he desires not to give them a mean Opinion of this Nation, by our not putting our selves in such a Condition as to be able to perform all our Engagements to them. This is all the Power his Majesty asks for, and this Power, we may depend on it, will not be wantonly used, or used at all, unless the Necessity of our Affairs require it. From the whole of his Majesty's past Conduct, from the Conduct of those who have the Honour to advise him, we may expect, that a Backwardness, rather than a Forwardness, will be shewed in putting the Nation to any Expence, or engaging it in any unnecessary Broils.

His Majesty, Sir, desires only a Power of providing what may appear to be absolutely necessary for the Defence of the Nation, during the Interval of Parliament, when he cannot have their Advice or Assistance; with this Assurance, that every Thing that shall be done in pursuance of that Power, shall be laid before next Parliament for their Approbation: to them, he promises, that a full Account shall be rendered of the Temporary Trust reposed in the Crown. What Danger then can there be in granting the Power now asked for? Can it be presumed, that any Minister will dare to make, or advise his Majesty to make a bad Use of it, when so strict an Account must be rendered to next Parliament, of every Use that shall be made of it? Yet this is what Gentlemen have been pleased to call a surrendering the Rights, a delegating the Power of Parliament to the Crown, and laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree. They have likewise been pleased to insinuate, as if it were the Servants of the Crown that desired to have more Power granted to them. Sir, as I am one of the Servants of the Crown, I can answer for my self, that I desire no Power; I know the Danger too well of making use of any Power, but that which has the Sanction of Parliament; and whenever I am entrusted with any such Power, I shall always be ready to account to Parliament for the Use I make of it.

'Tis true, Sir, the Powers now asked for may occasion a further Expence to this Nation; but whatever Expence may, in pursuance of such Powers, be incurred, does not his Majesty, in the Message now before us, promise that it shall be fully and particularly accounted for to next Parliament? And if any Part of that Expence shall appear to have been unnecessarily incurred, may we not expect that the next Parliament will severely punish those who have been the Authors of such unnecessary Expence? There is nothing contained in the Message, which can in the least tend to excuse those who shall dare to give such wicked Counsel

Counsel to his Majesty; and in the Motion I am to make, I shall endeavour to express myself in such a Manner as to obviate any Objection that can be made upon that Account. His Majesty desires only a Power to make such further Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may be absolutely necessary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms, and to concert such Measures as the Exigency of Affairs may require; and when we see his Majesty expressing himself so cautiously in the Message he has been pleased to send us, can we suppose that any Minister will be hardy enough to advise him, or that he will allow himself to be advised to put the Nation to any Expence that shall not plainly appear to be absolutely necessary?

Now, Sir, let us see whether the Message now before us, or the Powers that are thereby demanded, are so extraordinary or so unprecedented as some Gentlemen have been pleased to represent? Tho' I am no great Master of Precedents; tho' I never look into them but when I have immediate Occasion for them, yet I have got three or four in my Hand, which I take to be exactly parallel to the Case now before us. In 1702, her late Majesty Queen Anne sent a Message to this House, acquainting them with the then Situation of Affairs abroad; and upon that Message this House, by an Address, gave her Majesty the same sort of Powers as are now asked for. In 1715, his late Majesty sent a Message to this House, acquainting them of the Danger the Nation was in from Insurrections at home, and likewise from intended Invasions from abroad, in favour of the Pretender; and the very same Powers now asked for were granted by an Address of this House to his late Majesty. In 1718, during the Spanish War, that Power was again renewed to his late Majesty; and in 1725, the same Powers were again given to the Crown, both in the same Method: therefore it can't be said, that what is now propos'd is either new or unprecedented. It is what has often been practised, and what must always be practised, when the Nation happens to be threatened with any Danger.

I am afraid, Sir, I have already taken up too much of your Time, and therefore I shall now add no more; but if any material Objections be made to what I am to propose, I hope that the House will again indulge me to make such Answers to them as I may then think of, or that some other Gentleman, who may perhaps be of the same Opinion with me, and better able to answer such Objections than I am, will rise up and do it: Therefore I shall only beg Leave to make you the following Motion; That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, To declare the

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Duty and Fidelity of this House to his Majesty, and the entire Confidence which they repose in his Royal Care and Endeavours, for the Security of his Kingdoms, and for restoring the Peace of Europe; to express the just Sense they have of his Majesty's Attention to the true Interest of his People, in previously taking the Advice and Concurrence of this House at this critical Conjunction, in order to make the necessary Provisions against any Emergencies arising from the present Posture of Affairs in Europe, especially during the Interval of Parliament; to desire his Majesty, to make such Augmentation of his Forces by Sea and Land, as his Majesty in his great Wisdom shall judge necessary; and to concert such Measures, as the Exigency of Affairs shall require; this House not doubting, but that his Majesty will find, that his faithful Commons will at all Times, when the Accounts shall be laid before them of the extraordinary Expences incurred by his Majesty for the Honour, Interest, and Defence of his Kingdoms, effectually enable his Majesty to answer and make good the same.

To this Mr. Shippen replied:

SIR,

Mr. Shippen.

I am glad to find that the Honourable Gentleman has now discovered a Meaning in his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of this Session, which he could not, it seems, discover the first Day of the Session: He was, or pretended, at least, to be so far from discovering at that Time any such Meaning in his Majesty's Speech as he has now shewn to us, that he seemed very much surpris'd any Gentleman should have the least Apprehensions of such a Meaning. I, as well as several Gentlemen round me, remember well the Gentleman's very Words upon that Occasion; I remember, when I intimated then to the House my Fears, that some such thing as a Vote of Credit was intended, he said, he believed no Man alive but myself could dream of any such thing; but now we are told, that from his Majesty's Manner of expressing himself upon that Occasion, every Gentleman in the House must have expected a Demand of such a Nature as what is now before us: I did indeed, from what his Majesty said, expect a Demand for a Vote of Credit; but I little expected that that Demand would have been attended with such other extraordinary Demands as are contained in the Message now under consideration.

As no sufficient Time has been given, Sir, for Gentlemen to consider of this extraordinary Demand from the Crown, as no Information has been given us by the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, from whom I believe every Gentleman in this House expected a full Information, with respect to the Rea-
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sons the Crown may have for making such a Demand; Gentlemen, like me, who are kept at a Distance from the Secrets of the Administration, have no way left to judge but according to what appears upon the Face of the Message; and from thence I must judge, that the Demand now made upon us is entirely new, and very extraordinary. As I said before, it is a Demand for a total Surrender of all the Rights of Parliament; for we are now, it seems, to give the King a Power of raising what Money he pleases; we are to give him a Power of raising what Military Force he pleases without Consent of Parliament: Are not these the two Rights, upon which all the other Rights of Parliament depend? Is not the Controul we have over these two the only Handle by which we can, or dare vindicate any other Right that belongs to us? And after the Surrender of these two, can it be said that we have any Right, or at least, that we dare claim any Right, but such as the Crown shall vouchsafe from Time to Time to allow us?

* The Honourable Gentleman, Sir, by Way of Introduction to his Motion, was pleased to say a great deal in Justification of the Message, and of the Powers thereby demanded; but I think the Substance of what he said may be reduced to these three Heads, That it is necessary for us to grant those Powers, That the granting of such is neither new nor unprecedented, and That they may with Safety be granted to the Crown: Every one of which Propositions I must deny, and I think I have good Reason for so doing. The Gentleman indeed spoke to us Yesterday of the Necessity of sending such a Message, and I was in hopes he would have this Day endeavoured to have made that Necessity appear: But this is so far from being the Case, that, I think, he has rather shewn the contrary.

* Whether the Powers now asked for be unprecedented or not, it is certain, Sir, they are extraordinary, and therefore ought never to be granted but when the Nation is in imminent Danger, or in Cases of the utmost Extremity; and for this Reason I did expect we were to have been told this Day, that the Nation was immediately to be invaded by some foreign Power, or that some dangerous Plot had been discovered; and I expected this the more, because the short Time that was asked for taking this Affair into our Consideration was refused. However, now I find it is quite otherwise, the Gentleman himself says, he believes the Nation to be in Safety, but does not desire its Safety should depend on his Belief. In this, Sir, I agree with him, I really do not desire, that the Safety of the Nation should depend upon his Belief; and I believe it would be happy for us if it did not depend upon his Administration. Tho' at first he seemed willing to terrify us with the French Squadron, yet

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at last he told us he believed it was designed elsewhere, but new Counsels, groundless Jealousies, sudden Changes might bring them this Way. For God's sake, Sir, are Gentlemen serious when they talk at this Rate? Are we to come into such extraordinary Measures, are we to vest an absolute Power in the Crown, because from new Counsels, from sudden Changes, the Nation may be in Danger? If this be a Necessity for our agreeing to what is now proposed, will not the same Necessity always prevail? Are we not in as great Danger from new Counsels and sudden Changes, when our Neighbours are all at Peace, as when they are all engaged in a bloody War, and courting us either for our Assistance or for a Neutrality? Nay, for this Reason, I think we are now in greater Security than we can ever propose to be in Time of the most profound Tranquillity; and therefore if we now agree to grant such Powers, and in so extraordinary a Method too, I shall expect to see them demanded from us every Session of Parliament for the future: I shall never expect to see them refused.

I say, Sir, in such an extraordinary Method too; for suppose it could be alledged we should probably be exposed to some great Danger, in a Month, or six Weeks hence, which might make it necessary to grant such Powers to the Crown; yet that would be no Reason for doing it in such an extraordinary Manner: We would, in such a Case, have Time to do it in a regular Parliamentary Way, and wherever that can be done, it ought, without Doubt, to be done. There can be no Reason, there can be no Excuse for thus leaping over all the Forms and Methods of Proceeding in Parliament, but when the Danger is so near at Hand, that the providing against it cannot admit of such Delays. The Honourable Gentleman says, our Circumstances are much the same now they were at the Beginning of the Session; therefore if we are now in Danger, we were then in the same Danger. Why then were we not made acquainted with it at that Time? If we had, we could have provided against it in a regular Manner. But suppose that we had then done it in this irregular Manner, does the Gentleman think, as he pretends, that there is no greater Inconvenience in lodging an unlimited Power in the Hands of the Crown at the Beginning of a Session than at the End of it, or perhaps at the End of a Parliament? The contrary is evident; while the Parliament continues sitting after such a Power granted, they will nevertheless, be a Check upon the Use of that Power; they may recall it before it be too late; but when an expiring Session, much more an expiring Parliament, grants such a Power, it may, before the next Session, or the next Parliament is allowed to meet, be extended beyond Controul.

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The Honourable Gentleman told us, Sir, that there have been Negotiations on foot, that there are Negotiations on foot; 'tis true, they have not, he says, yet had the desired Success, but neither have they been rejected: That his Majesty is willing to wait the Result of these Negotiations, being resolved to delay putting his People to any Expence, as long as it can be avoided. Upon this he applauded his Majesty's tender Care for his Subjects, and took care to assume great Merit to himself in advising this Delay. Let us suppose, Sir, this Parliament dissolved; suppose these Negotiations actually rejected; surely we cannot suppose any Power in Europe so mad, or so unjust as to attack his Majesty for endeavouring to reconcile the Differences between them and their Enemies; and it is impossible to suppose that the Affairs of Europe can upon the rejecting of such Negotiations take such a sudden Turn, as may inevitably oblige his Majesty to declare of one Side or the other, before it be possible for the new Parliament to meet: This, I say, is impossible to suppose; and it is as impossible to suppose that any of the Powers now engaged in War will attempt to invade or insult this Nation, till his Majesty has openly declared against them. The Gentleman says, that his Majesty has all along endeavoured not to give any just Cause of Alarm to any foreign Power, nor to disoblige any Ally: I am afraid if we disoblige any Power in Europe, we must disoblige an Ally. However, as his Majesty has, during the Session of Parliament, been so cautious, it is not to be doubted but that he will continue to be as cautious, during the Interval of Parliament: So that upon the Whole, I must think, that every Thing the honourable Gentleman said tended to prove, that we are not at present under the least Necessity of granting the Powers demanded.

Now, Sir, give me Leave to examine the Precedents the honourable Gentleman was pleased to mention, and which he said were exactly parallel to the Case in hand. I do not know, indeed, but from the four Cases he mentioned taken jointly we may make up some sort of Precedent for the present; but I am very sure that no one of them, taken separately, is any way parallel to the present. As to that in 1702, it is quite different from this, both as to the Manner of sending it, as to the Time of its being sent, and as to the Powers that were either asked or given: As to the Manner of sending it, it appears, that that great and good Princess Queen Anne, in the very Message which she sent, acquainted the House, that she had commanded the several Letters and Representations passed between her and the States General, upon the subject Matter of the Message, to be therewith transmitted to the House. So far was the

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from desiring her Parliament to grant, only because she thought fit to ask; that on the contrary she laid the Whole of her foreign Transactions before them, and thereby made them Judges of what ought to be done upon that Emergency; and I must say, Sir, it would be no Discredit for the best and wisest of her Successors to imitate her royal Example in this, as well as in most of the other Measures of her glorious Reign.

Then, as to the Time of sending that Message, we were then actually engaged in the War, and one of our Allies was in the most imminent Danger of being swallowed up by our most inveterate Enemy; an Enemy, who but a little before had put the greatest Affront upon this Nation, by setting up a Pretender, and acknowledging him in the most publick Manner as the only rightful King of these Realms. It was not then said, that we or our Allies might, from new Counsels, and sudden Changes, be in Danger. It was said, it was not only said, but shewn to the House in the most authentick Manner, that one of our Allies was actually then in imminent Danger. And further, Sir, that Message was not sent to the House at the End of a Session, and after most of the Members were gone to the Country; it was sent in the very Middle of the Session, and at a Time when it must be supposed that the House was full.

But as to the Powers then demanded or granted, I am surprised to hear it said, that that Case is parallel to the present. Sir, her Majesty asked no Powers; she only told, and shewed the House, what her Allies desired and prayed; but she did not pretend by her Message to direct the House what they were to do; she did not desire them to do any Thing, but only said, she doubted not but they would take such Measures upon that Occasion, as might be most for the Honour and Advantage of her Majesty, the Safety of her Kingdoms, and the necessary Support of her Allies: And in consequence of this what was done? This House was very far from granting to her Majesty a Power of augmenting her Forces both by Sea and Land, as much as she pleased; a Power of raising and keeping up in this Nation as numerous an Army as she pleased; a Power of running this Nation in Debt as much as she pleased; a Power of entering into, and concluding whatever Negotiations or Treaties she should think proper. No, Sir, they only told her, that, if her Majesty should think it necessary to enter into any further Negotiations for encreasing the Forces which were to act in Conjunction with the Forces of the States-General, that House would enable her Majesty to make good the same: And even to this so particular, this so much limited Grant, they added this express Condition, that

that England should not be charged with the Pay of such additional Troops, but from the Day when a Stop should be made by the States-General to all Correspondence, Trade, and Commerce with France and Spain. But this Condition, Sir, was never performed; the additional Troops were taken into our Pay, but no such Stop was ever made by the States-General: which shews how little we ought to depend upon the Conditions annexed to, or implied in any Grant we make, or in any Power we give.

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As to the Message sent to this House in the Years 1715 and 1718, they are very far from being Precedents for the present. At the Time of the first, there was an Insurrection in a manner actually broke out, and an Invasion expected; the Nation was then in imminent Danger, the Government was exposed to the Danger of being immediately overturned. This the King, in his Message, acquainted the House of; and this was the Reason for their coming to the Resolution they then did: But even in that Time of imminent Danger, this House neither was desired, nor did they condescend to grant to his late Majesty such extensive Powers, as are now demanded and proposed to be granted; They desired his Majesty, indeed, to augment his Forces both by Sea and Land; which, considering the small Number of regular Forces we had then in the Kingdom, was much more reasonable, than the same Power can now appear to be, even suppose we were threatened with the like Danger; but 'twas not then so much as desired, that the House should before-hand approve of all the Negotiations and Treaties, which his Majesty, or rather his Ministers, should think proper to enter into, or to conclude; and the Power then granted to his Majesty was the less dangerous, because neither the Parliament, nor the Session of Parliament, was then drawing towards a Close; but on the contrary, his late Majesty was so good as to continue the same Session of Parliament, till the Danger the Nation was threatened with was entirely over: so that the Parliament had at any Time an Opportunity, and certainly would have put a Check to the Ministers of State, if they, or any of them, had attempted to have made a wrong Use of that Power which the Parliament had granted to his Majesty. The Powers granted in 1718, were granted for the same Cause. His Majesty, in his Speech, acquainted his Parliament, that the Nation was in danger of being invaded by a foreign Power; and it actually would have been invaded, if the Spanish Fleet had not met with a Disaster at Sea; so that neither of these Cases can be any way considered as parallel to the present.

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'Tis true, Sir, the other Precedent, quoted by the honourable Gentleman, may be looked on as some way parallel to the present: We were then in a sort of State which I cannot give a Name to; it was neither a Time of War, nor a Time of Peace; but I do not remember it was so much as pretended, that the Nation was threatened with imminent Danger; yet we then did somewhat like what we are now desired to do: we granted away Millions, for aught we knew, in the Dark, without any Cause or Reason assigned. But I must observe, Sir, that that Message happened since the honourable Gentleman's Return to Power, and therefore may be supposed to have been advised by the same Persons, and to have proceeded from the same Councils with the present; yet they were a little more modest at that Time. It could not be then properly said, that the Nation was in a State of absolute Tranquillity; yet nevertheless the honourable Gentleman was so modest, as to ask only for a Power to make an Addition to the Number of Seamen, and to negotiate and make Treaties; he did not so much as ask for a Power to raise, and keep up in this Nation, in a Time of Peace, whatever Number of Land-Forces he might pretend to think necessary. Thus we see the honourable Gentleman improves upon his last Precedent; and it is natural to suppose he will likewise improve upon this: therefore, if all the Powers now asked for, be granted, as I do not know any other Power his Majesty can want from his Parliament, but that of making Laws, I shall expect that, besides the Powers now asked for, there will be, in the next Message from the Crown, a Demand for empowering his Majesty to make or repeal, continue or suspend, alter, explain, or amend such Laws, and in such manner, as he shall think absolutely necessary for the Safety of the Nation. This, I say, is the only further Grant that is necessary for us to make, in order to establish, by a Resolution of both Houses, the absolute Power of the Crown; and with respect to the Liberties of the Nation, I think it is much the same, whether we grant this Power to the Crown, or put the Crown in a Capacity of assuming it whenever they have a mind, which will certainly be the Consequence of the Resolution now proposed.

This, Sir, naturally leads me to the other Doctrine, which the honourable Gentleman has endeavoured to establish; that we may with Safety grant to the Crown, the Powers now asked for. As to his present Majesty, Sir, he is a Prince of so much Goodness and Wisdom, and is endowed with so many noble and princely Qualifications, that we may safely not only trust him with the Powers now demanded,

manded, but we may surrender, and lay down the whole of our Rights and Liberties at the Foot of the Throne; but as this would be a most dangerous Precedent, and might be made a most wicked Use of in Times to come: The same Wisdom and Generosity, which makes it safe for us to put so much Trust in his present Majesty, would render Persons capable of so much mean and low Complaisance, most despicable in his Majesty's Eyes. He might justly say of us, what the Roman Emperor said of that Senate, which was so complaisant as to refuse nothing he asked; *O Homines servire paratos!* And his Majesty would have as much Reason to be quite tired with our fawning Complaisance, as that Emperor is by the Historian represented to have been with the fawning Complaisance of the Roman Senate. We all know, Sir, how difficult it is to refuse to the King upon the Throne those Favours or Powers which have been granted to his Predecessor; and therefore it has always been the established Maxim of every honest Man, who had a Seat in either House of Parliament, not to grant to a good King those Powers, which a bad King might make an ill Use of; and surely, if a bad King were trusted with a Power of raising Land-Forces at Discretion, he might easily turn it to the utter Subversion of all the Liberties and Privileges of the People of this Kingdom.

But with respect to the Powers now asked, our Safety is, it seems, to be secured by this; that a particular Account is to be rendered to next Parliament of whatever may be done, and of all the additional Expence that may be incurred, in pursuance of these Powers. Sir, I have been so often deceived by Ministerial Promises, and Experience has so fully convinced me, that we are never to expect any such Account in a fair and regular Manner, that I have no Faith in, nor Dependance upon such Promises: Both I and other Gentlemen have often called for such Accounts, but we have always been told, that either Matters were not ripe for laying such Accounts before Parliament, or that the Secrets of the Government were not to be revealed; and the highest Satisfaction we could ever get upon such Occasions was to be told, that the Expences had been necessarily incurred on account of foreign and secret Services: It has always been pretended there was a Necessity for such Expence, but the Parliament was never to be let into the Secret from whence that Necessity arose; we are always, it seems, to believe so, upon the bare Word of our honest and wise Ministers; and I am very apt to believe that the same Confidence and Resignation will be required from the next Parliament.

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‘ The Gentleman said, he might leave the Question to rest wholly upon our present Circumstances : It may be so, Sir, but I wish he had told us what these Circumstances are. He said they were the same they were at the Beginning of the Sessions ; not altogether the same ; they were the same in general, but by Time, and Variations in foreign Councils, an Alteration might be made in them. I must say, Sir, the House is very much obliged to the Hon. Gentleman for giving us so much Satisfaction ; and from this Intelligence we shall certainly be able to give our Friends in the Country a most satisfactory Account, and a most convincing Reason for what we have done. ’Tis true, they have been made believe that they are to pay but two Shillings in the Pound Land-Tax, but we can tell them that the Hon. Gentleman gave us so particular an Account of our Circumstances, and of the Danger the Nation was exposed to, that we thought proper to leave it to his Discretion, whether the Nation should be charged with six Shillings, or perhaps with nineteen Shillings in the Pound Land-Tax ; and by his past Conduct the Nation is so fully convinced of his Wisdom and Sincerity, that they will certainly approve of what we have done.

‘ Sir, I have troubled you too long ; I think I have shewn that the Resolution proposed is neither necessary nor safe, nor founded upon any Precedent : But quoting of Precedents signifies nothing ; suppose there were Precedents exactly parallel to the present Case, it would be no Argument for our agreeing to what is proposed. There are but too many Precedents which resemble it a little ; it is now high Time to put a Stop to the Practice, and I am sure it will be much more for our Honour to make a Precedent where such a Demand has been refused, otherwise the Thing may come to be familiar : It may become an usual Custom to vest the Crown with such a Power at the End of every Parliament ; so that all our succeeding Parliaments may come to be chosen under the Influence of absolute Power, and neither the Hon. Gentleman, nor any of his Successors in Office, needs desire to do any Thing without the previous Sanction of Parliament ; for it is not to be supposed that a Parliament chosen under the Influence of arbitrary Power, will ever refuse their Sanction, when the Minister for the Time being pleases to demand it ; in which Case, I believe, every Gentleman will agree with me, that the Parliament will be altogether useless, it will serve for nothing but to make our Ministers the more daring, and the Oppressions of
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the People the more grievous; and therefore, Sir, I am
against the Question.

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Then the Hon. Mr. Digby spoke as follows:

SIR,

The Hon. Gentleman who opened this Debate has, in my Opinion, made as artful a Speech in favour of arbitrary Power as ever I heard made any where, and has said a great deal more in favour of such a Government than ever I expected to have heard within these Walls. I will not easily admit, Sir, that we are ever to trust the Crown with such extensive Powers as are now demanded; but surely if we are ever to do any Thing like it, if we are ever to vest in the Crown any extraordinary and unusual Powers, it ought to be in a Case of the extremest Necessity, and even then we ought to do it in the most deliberate Way that the Circumstances of the Case can admit of, and not till after the Case has been fully explained, and the Necessity made clearly to appear to us. Had we been informed of our Danger in the Beginning of the Session, what is now proposed might have been done; but then it might have been done in a regular Way, and might have passed through all the Forms of Parliament; by which Means the other House might have had an Opportunity of putting a Negative upon it, which they ought to have by our Constitution; and every Gentleman of either House of Parliament might have had an Opportunity of examining into the Merits of the Question, and of giving his Opinion upon it; whereas now we are in a thin House, and without any Concurrence of the other House, to give up by a single Vote all the Rights of Parliament, and, for aught we know, to put an end to all Parliaments.

Hon. Mr. Digby.

The Hon. Gentleman has told us, that during the former Part of the Session of Parliament his Majesty did not make this Application, because the Danger had not become so great as to make it necessary for us to put ourselves to any immediate additional Expence, but that after the Session is broke up, or this Parliament dissolved, some Change may happen which will make such Expence necessary; and as his Majesty cannot then have an Opportunity of applying to his Parliament, therefore it is necessary to furnish him with such Powers as are now demanded. Sir, I would be glad to know from that Gentleman, or any other, what Necessity there is for this Session's breaking up so soon; or if there is any Necessity for dissolving this Parliament in a few Days? Our Time does not expire till October next; and however necessary

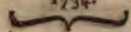
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our Presence may be in the Country, if the Nation be in any Danger, if there be any reason to suspect, that the Nation may soon be in Danger, I am sure every Gentleman will think it his Duty to remain in Town, or to return to Town, in order to attend the Service of his Country in Parliament. If we have now really any Thing to fear from the French Squadron, and that I think is the only Danger I have heard so much as insinuated; all Apprehensions from that Squadron must be over long before that Time; nay, I do not know but if the few Days that were asked Yesterday for taking this Message into our Consideration, had been granted, the Danger from that Squadron might have been over before we had come to consider of that Danger, or how to provide against it; and this perhaps was the chief Motive for refusing so short and so reasonable a Delay: for if that Squadron had been sailed elsewhere, the Gentlemen would have been stript of the only Argument I have heard them make use of for persuading us, or rather for terrifying us, into the granting of an absolute Power to the Crown.

The Hon. Gentleman told us, that his Majesty desired not to give our Allies a mean Opinion of this Nation, by our neglecting to put ourselves in a Condition of making good all our Engagements to them. Sir, I do not know what Engagements we may lie under, or who are our present Allies; for I think all the Powers of Europe have lately been our Allies in their Turns: but for this very Reason, Sir, I am against what is now proposed. I am for giving our Allies, whoever they may be, a good Opinion, not only of this Nation, but of his Majesty's Government, and therefore whatever may be necessary to be done for putting ourselves in a Condition to make good our Engagements, I am for its being done in a full House, and in a regular parliamentary Method. Can any Gentleman imagine that our Allies, especially the Dutch, if they be our Allies, are ignorant of our Constitution? No, Sir, they are perfectly acquainted with it; and therefore if we should grant such Powers as are now demanded, or make any other Sort of Provision, in a full House, and in the regular parliamentary Method, we cannot doubt of its having greater Weight with our Allies, than a Resolution or Vote thus obtained by Surprise at the End of the Session, and after most of the Gentlemen are retired to the Country. Such a Method of obtaining the Approbation of Parliament must necessarily give them a mean Opinion at least of our Government, and must contribute to the rendering his Majesty's Endeavours for restoring the Peace of Europe of little or no Effect.

Beside,

Besides, Sir, by the Proposition now made to us we are really going to do what our Allies know we cannot do: We are not only going to delegate the Power of Parliament to the Crown, but we are going to promise that a future Parliament shall approve of whatever may be done in pursuance of that Power so delegated to the Crown. Does not every one of our Allies know that no Parliament can make such a Promise? Does not every Man know that no Parliament has a Right to surrender the Liberties of the People, or to delegate the Power of Parliament to the Crown? And can we imagine that any Potentate in Europe will have any great Dependence upon the Powers or Promises which are granted by those who had no Right to grant any such? But suppose we had a Right to grant the Powers now asked for, that Right is certainly never to be made use of but when the Nation is in the most imminent Danger; and as I can see no Pretence for saying the Nation is now, or is like to be, in any such Danger, nor have heard any other Reason for asking the Powers now proposed to be given, I must suspect that they are asked for Purposes that cannot be openly avowed, and therefore I shall give my Negative to the Question.

Mr. Gibbon spoke next against the Motion, who was answered by Mr. Henry Pelham, to whom Mr. Palmer replied; then Mr. Horatio Walpole spoke as follows.

SIR,

Gentlemen have been at a good deal of pains to make out a Difference between the Precedents that have been mentioned and the Case before us; tho' I think with very little Success: There never was yet a Precedent for any Proposition or Determination so exactly parallel to the Case in Hand, but ingenious Gentlemen might find out some minute Differences; yet Precedents, where no Material Difference could be shown, have always been allowed to be good Authorities for what was proposed to be done; and in the present Case I do not find that with all their Ingenuity they have been able to shew any material Difference between the Precedents mentioned and the Proposition now made to us. The two material Points now under our Consideration with respect to Precedents are, Whether it has not been the Practice of Parliament to grant extraordinary Powers to the Crown in the Time of Danger? And in what Method those Powers have been granted? These, I say, are the two chief Points, and as to both of them every one of the Precedents mentioned appears to be as exactly parallel as any one Case can be to another.

Mr. Horatio
Walpole.

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granting them not near so strong as upon former Occasions; no former Precedent can give any Authority for doing what is now proposed. We are told of the Naval Armaments of France; but I would gladly know what we have done to deserve any Insult from that Nation. If contributing to throw the Affairs of Europe into their present Situation, by which the House of Bourbon has been again put into a Condition of pulling down the overgrown Power of the House of Austria, which so greatly alarmed us some Years ago; if this, I say, deserves any Insult from France, I do not know but we may deserve it. But if this were true, while we have an Army of 18,000 Men in this Kingdom, and 12,000 in Ireland, all ready at our Call, and a more powerful Fleet than any the French can put to Sea, what have we to fear from five or six thousand French, if they were actually landed in the Island? Sir, if we had not a Regiment in the Kingdom, we could not have any Thing to fear from so inconsiderable a Number. And, can we suppose the French such Fools as to make so ridiculous an Attempt, by which they must expect to draw the immediate Vengeance of this Nation upon them? When our Armies, or our Fleets, are to be augmented; when we are to enter into expensive Negotiations; or when we are desired to put extraordinary Powers into the Hands of the Government, for Purposes not to be told, I have often observed, Sir, that some Gentlemen are, upon such Occasions, mighty apt to raise Phantoms, and to magnify imaginary Dangers; from whence they argue for the Necessity of providing against them, as if they were real: we are then to be afraid of Invasions and Insults from almost every Power in Europe. But when upon other Occasions they are told what is too true, that the Nation is in a most dangerous and distressed Condition, they then insist upon it, that we are in the most happy Situation, that our Trade is in a flourishing State, and that we are in Friendship with, or at least have no Diffidence of any foreign Power whatsoever. But now it seems, Sir, we must grant more extensive Powers to the Crown, than were ever granted by any Parliament, tho' it cannot be so much as pretended, that we are in any immediate Danger; for even those Gentlemen who talk of the Necessity of granting such Powers, tell us, we are in the same Circumstances we were in at the Beginning of the Session; but not what those Circumstances are: for this, we must depend upon the Assertion of an honourable Gentleman; and even he has told us, that he does not believe we are in any Danger, but does not desire the Safety of the Nation to depend on his Belief. God forbid, Sir, it should; but if we thus, upon his bare Word, give up all the Rights

of Parliament, and in some measure destroy the Necessity of holding any Parliament for the future, I must say, that we shall, from that Moment, leave the Safety of the Nation, and the Preservation of our Constitution, to depend very much upon his Management. This is what I shall never agree to; it is what, I hope, no Parliament will ever agree to; and therefore, if we are in any Danger, or if we are like to be in any Danger, let us know our Danger from something else than his bare Assertion; and then I doubt not but the Wisdom of Parliament will provide effectually against it.

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* We are seldom indeed told much, we are never told Things but by Halves; but if what we are told be true, if his Majesty has hitherto taken no Share in the War, we cannot be in any immediate Danger. However, tho' his Majesty, as King of Great Britain, may not have taken any Share in the War, yet he certainly has, as Elector of Hanover: and as this Nation has, by some Fatality or another, been generally engaged in the same Quarrel which our King, as Elector of Hanover, espoused, if the same Thing should again happen, this Nation may then indeed come to be threatened with some Danger or Insult; but in such a Case it is not necessary for us to provide against such a distant, and such a conditional Danger, in the extraordinary Method now proposed: Why may we not sit for a few Months longer, and do in a regular Parliamentary Way whatever may seem necessary on that Occasion? When we are all together, we make of ourselves a pretty good Battalion; it cannot be said but that we are well officer'd, and a little Time might probably bring us to turn to Right and Left, and to perform all the other Parts of Exercise by Beat of Drum: but this, Sir, is a serious Subject, and therefore I ask Pardon.

* We have been told, Sir, that all that is now asked is only to put a Confidence in his Majesty. No, Sir, it is to put a Confidence in his Ministers, and in them I have none; no not even tho' the Honourable Person on the Floor has assured us, that no wanton or bad Use shall be made of it: for if we once grant the Power, we cannot tell how it may be used, nor can we be assured that any future Parliament will have it in their Power to call those to an Account, who may make a wrong or a wicked Use of it: We are not to expect Sylla's in every Age; absolute Power is a bewitching Possession, and seldom voluntarily resigned. The same honourable Person asked us, if the past Conduct of the Administration did not promise rather a Backwardness than a Forwardness in making use of this Power? I must confess, Sir, that a Backwardness has been shewn by them in

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Cases where it was very wrong to shew any such Thing : When repeated Insults have been offered to the Nation ; when our Merchants have been pillaged, and our Sailors murdered, and that for Years together, they have shewed a mean and dishonourable Backwardness, and therefore I think we have good Reason to suspect that the same Imprudence may make them unwisely rash, and unseasonably forward in engaging in Disputes where the Interest of the Nation may call upon them to be at least neutral. As all the principal Powers of Europe are now engaged in a bloody War against one another, and as we have not yet taken any Share in that War, the present Circumstances of Europe are to me a most evident Proof, that we neither are nor can be in any Danger as long as we continue in the same Situation ; and as we have no contrary Evidence, but what appears upon the general Ministerial Message, now under our Consideration, I do not see how we can possibly form a Pretence for agreeing to what is now asked of us : We ought, and I hope we always will shew as great a Deference to the Crown as becometh the free-born Subjects of Britain ; but considering how often the Crown has, upon former Occasions been induced to assert for Truth what Time the Discoverer of Secrets has made appear not to be true ; considering, that we are to look upon this, as well as other such Messages, as proceeding from the Advice and Suggestion of Ministers : and when we reflect upon former Assertions which came to Parliament, by the Advice and on the Suggestion of the same Persons, we cannot be justified in delegating so great a Power upon so slight an Evidence ; an Evidence which Time may hereafter, as it has before done, shew to be entirely false. I could have added a great deal more upon this Subject, but I find myself so bad, Sir, I can proceed no further ; only shall take this Opportunity, this last Opportunity, I'm afraid, of declaring my Attachment to the Liberties and Constitution of my Country, by declaring my Aversion to the Proposition now before us.

To this Sir William Yonge replied :

SIR,

Sir William
Yonge.

As all the Objections made to what is now proposed have been already fully answered by other Gentlemen, I shall not pretend, to enter much into the Merits of the Question ; neither did I intend to have given you any Trouble in this Debate ; but such Expressions have drop'd from the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, that it is impossible they should be pass'd over without some Notice. He told us that the Crown had often asserted for Truth what afterwards appeared to be false. This, Sir, I take

to be an Accusation which is very inconsistent with that Duty and Respect, which every Member of this House ought to shew to the Crown; and I was the more surprized to hear that Gentleman accuse the Crown of imposing Falsities upon the Parliament, because he always uses a great deal of Caution in what he says in this House: I was sorry the Honourable Gentleman was prevented from proceeding in this Discourse, because I believe he would have explained what he had said in such a Manner as not to imply so much Disrespect to the Crown; I dare say he would; but as his Words now stand, I cannot think it possible they should escape the Notice of this House. I promised not to enter much into the Merits of the Question; however I will beg Leave to explain a little what passed in this House the first Day of the Session, upon the Motion for an Address to his Majesty: I remember some Gentlemen took Exceptions to an Expression proposed to be put into that Address, as if a Promise of a Vote of Credit had been intended to be couched under it; and upon that Occasion the honourable Gentleman by me, said, he believed no Person so much as dreamed that such an Use was intended to be made of that Expression; because if any such Thing as a Vote of Credit should be deemed necessary, the Demand for it would come in the usual Way by a Message; and if any such Message should happen to come, he believed no Argument in favour of it either could or would be drawn from the Words then proposed to be put into your Address. Gentlemen, I perceive, pretend that they cannot find out the Difference between what is now proposed and a Vote of Credit: Yet in my Opinion, if they will be at the Pains to compare the two together, they may very easily discover the Difference; for a Vote of Credit is, where a Sum is given for certain Services, not to be accounted for to Parliament; whereas the present Message bears this express Promise in it, that a full and particular Account shall be laid before next Parliament of all the Expences which may be incurred in Consequence of the Powers now to be granted: and as no Power is desired but what appears to me necessary for the Security and Quiet of the Nation, I neither can see nor have heard any sufficient Reason for not granting them.

Sir William Yonge was answer'd by Sir John Barnard, as follows:

SIR,

* The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last found fault, Sir, with my worthy Friend below me, for speaking ditrespectfully, as he called it, of the Crown; upon which I must observe that the Hon. Gentleman is very apt, I will

Sir John
Barnard.

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not say willingly, to mistake what other Gentlemen say, and then to find fault with what he supposes they did say. My worthy Friend said, that the Crown has often been induced to assert for Truth what Time has afterwards discovered not to be true. Sir, the Crown is never supposed to know any thing but by Information, and if those who inform the Crown have been themselves misinformed, or should for any private and wicked Purpose give the Crown a false Information, the Crown may by such Information be induced to assert for Truth, what Time may very probably shew not to have been true; so that without any Explanation, there is no Foundation for finding fault with what my worthy Friend said: Nay, it is what happens but too often. Were not we told but a few Years ago of some secret Articles in an Alliance entered into between two of our Neighbours, by which Gibraltar was to have been taken from us, and the Pretender to have been placed by force upon the Throne of these Realms? This was afterwards discovered not to be true; and indeed, to consider the Situation and Circumstances of the two Powers said to have entered into these Articles, it is hardly possibly to believe that any such Projects should have enter'd into either of their Heads: Yet this was confidently asserted; and to have pretended at that Time to have doubted of it, would, I believe, have been reckoned highly disrespectful to the Crown, if not downright Disaffection. So far are we, Sir, from being obliged to believe every Thing asserted by the Crown, that we are in many Cases bound to enquire into the Truth of such Assertions; and if they should, upon such Enquiry, appear to be false, we ought to punish those who have either foolishly or knavishly imposed upon the Crown.

Upon the present Occasion, Sir, the Crown is absolutely safe from any Accusation or Suspicion of this Kind; for we have not as yet had the least Information from the Crown; even by the present Message, notwithstanding the great Powers thereby demanded, it is not so much as insinuated that the Nation is in any Danger, nor are we informed of any Fact from which it may be conjectured that the Nation may soon be in Danger. It has indeed been insinuated by an Hon. Gentleman in this House, by way of Supplement to the Message, that we are in Danger of an Invasion from France; but even that Gentleman himself says, he does not believe we are in any Danger, which is something very singular; he does not, he say, believe it, but yet he would have every other Gentleman in this House believe it; for it is certain there

is no Danger to be apprehended from any other foreign Power; therefore it is impossible for any Gentleman, who is of his Opinion, with respect to our Danger from France, to agree to this Resolution: I say, it is impossible that any Gentleman, who does not think the Nation in any Danger, should agree to the granting to the Crown an unlimited Power of raising Forces by Sea and Land, of entering into expensive Alliances, and putting the Nation to an infinite Expence.

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* But perhaps, Sir, the Danger we are now threatened with is of a Domestick Nature: If so, I wish some of those Gentlemen who know it would rise up and give us some Account of it; for really my Imagination is so barren, that I cannot form to myself an Idea of any such Danger, unless it be the Danger of having the Majority of next Parliament consist of such Persons as may not be agreeable to some Gentlemen; and if the Vote of Credit we are now to give should be applied towards preventing that Danger, if any Part of the Money should be made use of for that Purpose, it is certain, that no Gentleman needs be under any Apprehensions or any Uneasiness from the Promise now made, of accounting to next Parliament. But I beg pardon, Sir, I believe I should not have called the Resolution proposed to us a Vote of Credit, for I find Gentlemen are greatly divided whether it ought to be called a Vote of Credit, or a Vote of Confidence. However, I think that Dispute may be easily accommodated by calling it a Vote of Confidence and Credit.

* It may be thought, Sir, that I do not treat this Subject seriously enough: I will allow, that if the Nation were really in any Danger it would be an Affair of very great Consequence. In such a Case, it would be a very serious Question to determine, Whether we should devolve the Power of Parliament upon the Crown for a short Time: But when Gentlemen come with such a Demand, without any Foundation, when even they themselves tell us they believe we are in no Danger, but tell us of a French Squadron with four or five thousand Forces ready to be put on Board; and because we are now just at the End of a Parliament, make use of that Story as a sufficient Argument for us to put it in the Power of a Minister never to call another: I say, Sir, such a Demand, founded upon such an Argument, must be look'd on as a Ministerial Demand only, and therefore ought either to be treated with Ridicule, or rejected with Indignation. It is a Demand of such a Nature, Sir, that in my Opinion, no Gentleman, who has the least Regard for Parliaments, or who expects ever to sit in another free Parliament, can agree to it.

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Sir Robert
Walpole.]]

Hereupon Sir Robert Walpole stood up again, and said,
SIR,

' In the Station in which I have the Honour to serve the King, I cannot sit still when I hear the Crown reflected on in the manner it has been. I am in Justice to the Memory of the late King, and in Duty to the present, obliged to take Notice of what happened to fall from the Honourable Gentleman under the Gallery. His late Majesty's Assertion, relating to the two secret Articles agreed on between two foreign Powers, which that Gentleman took Notice of, and which he was pleased to say appeared afterwards not to be true, was as well founded, and as true an Assertion as ever came from the Crown, 'Tis true indeed, Mr. Palm, the Imperial Minister then at this Court, denied that there were any such secret Articles in the Treaty; [v. APPENDIX] but, Sir, when we have the Word of the late King from the Throne on one side, and the Denial of a foreign Minister, a Minister of inferior Rank too, upon the other, I must say that in such a Case, to pretend to be at a loss which to give most Credit to, is treating the Memory of our late Sovereign with very great Indignity; and I am sure, if Time has discovered any Thing, it has discover'd the contrary of what the Honourable Gentleman pretends. Do not we all know that Gibraltar was soon after actually besieged, and if proper Care had not been taken to prevent it, every Thing else that was stipulated by those secret Articles would as certainly have been undertaken. The other Project, if it had been undertaken, would, I believe, have met with the same Success; but I am persuaded there are some who are sorry it was not accomplished.

' Gentlemen talk, Sir, of Ministers misinforming, and imposing upon the Crown; but in that Case it was not his late Majesty's Ministers here who informed him, it was he that informed them of that Transaction: He had his Information at Hanover, and his Information was so good, that he could not be deceived: I know as well, and am as certain, that there were such Articles, as those very Persons who drew up the Articles. I am sorry, Sir, I have been provoked to say so much, to talk of these things may now be improper, and perhaps I cannot justify myself in having said so much, yet in Justice to the late King, I think I could say no less.

' As to the Question it self, I have heard no Objections made, but what have been fully answered by other Gentlemen, therefore shall not trouble you further upon it, but only to declare, that as this Nation may be exposed to great Dangers during the Interval of Parliament, I think it absolutely necessary to comply with his Majesty's Message; and as an Account is to be rendered to next Parliament, and as that Parliament must meet some Time next Winter,

if

if not sooner, the Powers now to be granted cannot, in that Time, produce any bad Consequences; but may produce very good Effects, by giving a due Weight to any Proposals his Majesty, in Conjunction with his Allies, may think proper to make to the Powers now engaged in War.

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1734.

To this Mr. Pulteney replied:

SIR,

As it is now so late, and as many unanswerable Objections have been made to the Proposition now before us, I should not have given you any trouble, but that I think the Question of so great Moment, that I ought to testify my Aversion to it by something more than a bare Negative. As to the Danger from the French Fleet, Sir, it is either too near to be provided against by any thing that can be done in consequence of this Message, or it is so remote, that it may be provided against in a regular Manner: This has already been taken notice of, and has not as yet received any Answer. But I must further observe, that if there had ever been any Ground to suspect, that the French Fleet was design'd against this Island, their not coming hither before now, is sufficient to remove any Jealousy that might have been entertained that Way. They might have had Ships sufficient to have transported 5 or 6000 Men to this Island, and those Troops might have been embarked, nay, and even landed in this Island, long before this Time; and therefore their Fleet's waiting so long in their Harbour, is a plain Demonstration, that they are not design'd against this Island, but against a Place, which they cannot approach so early in the Spring.

It is something very surprizing to me, Sir, that upon the present Occasion we should be told what the Dutch have done, or rather, indeed, what they have not done. When they make any Reduction of their Forces, in order to save publick Expence, and spare their People, we are then told, that their Example can be no Rule for us: But if they make any necessary Addition to their Land Forces, in order to put themselves in a Posture of Defence against Dangers, which we, from the Difference of our Situation, have not the least Reason to apprehend, then we are told, we ought to follow their Example: But in the present Case, even the Example of the Dutch can be no Argument. We have already done more than they have done, we have not only resolved to keep up the same Number of our Land-Forces, which certainly would not have been done, if the Tranquillity of Europe had remained undisturbed; but we have already made a very large Addition to the Number of our Seamen; an Addition which amounts to a greater Number of Men than that Number of Land-Forces which the Dutch have only resolved

Mr. Pulteney.

Anno 7 Geo. II.

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resolved not to reduce. So that tho' we be not near so much exposed to the Danger as the Dutch; yet we have already very far exceeded them in the Expence we have put our selves to, on account of the War.

'We are next told, that the Towns in Flanders are in a very bad Situation, and no way provided for Defence. For God's sake, Sir, are we thus to be eternally the Dupes of Europe? If the Emperor, or any other Power, neglects to keep their fortified Places in a proper Posture of Defence, must we answer for that Neglect? Are we, for the Sake of preserving the Balance of Power in Europe, to undertake, at our own Charges, to defend every Power in Europe, and to prevent their being invaded or conquered by any of their Neighbours? Such Arguments, Sir, I should think ridiculous, if made use of for persuading us to put ourselves to the least additional Expence; but they are much more so, when they are the only Arguments made use of for prevailing with us to make a total Surrender of our Liberties. Surely, Gentlemen must think this House mighty ready to resign the Liberties of their Country, when they make such Propositions, and support them by such Arguments.

'To me, Sir, it really appears as if this Proposition had been made by way of Experiment, to see what Lengths we might be prevailed on to go; and if we agree to it, I am sure it is what we can never answer for to our selves, our Constituents, or our Posterity; nay, we cannot answer for it, even to his Majesty himself; for it is a destroying of the Rights of Parliament; and as his Majesty's Right to the Crown, is founded on the Rights of Parliament, whatever tends to the Destruction of the one, must tend to the Destruction of the other. The Parliament, Sir, is the Guardian of the Crown, as well as of the People. We are put to protect the People in the Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges, we are likewise to protect the Crown against wicked and evil Counsellors; and, in my Opinion, the Message now before us, and the Proposition now made to us, are of such an extraordinary Nature, that if the Spirit of Liberty, that Spirit which brought about the Revolution, and established the present Family upon the Throne, is not already quite extinguished in this Nation, we may soon expect to see a Parliament, that will not only censure, but condemn and punish those who have been the chief Advisers of such a Measure.'

An Address in
pursuance of
the King's
Message agreed
to.

Mr. Talbot spoke next for the Motion, and Sir John Hynde Cotton against it: Then the Question being put, upon the Motion for the Address, it was carried in the Affirmative by 248 to 147.

April

Anno 7 Geo. II.

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April 1. The above Address was presented to the King; and his Majesty return'd the following Answer :

GENTLEMEN,

" I return you my Thanks for these Assurances of your Duty and Fidelity to my Person and Government, and for the Confidence, which you repose in me. I desire only, that I may be in a Condition to support the Honour and Interest of my Crown and People; and the Power, you have given me, shall be made Use of to no other Purpose."

His Majesty's Answer there-
to.

April 8. Sir Robert Walpole presented to the House the following Message from the King :

GEORGE R.

" His Majesty, having been pleased to direct Letters-Patent to be pass'd under the Great Seal of Great-Britain, for settling on the Princess Royal an Annuity of 5000 l. per Annum, as a Mark of his Royal Favour and Affection to her, and the Laws now in being restraining his Majesty from granting the same for any longer Term than his own Life, hopes, he shall be enabled to make such Grant for the Life of the said Princess Royal, in Case she shall survive his Majesty, and recommends the Consideration thereof to this House."

The King's Message for settling an Annuity of 5000 l. per Annum, on the Princess Royal for her Life.

The above Message was immediately taken into Consideration, and a Bill order'd accordingly, which pass'd both Houses in three Days : Notwithstanding which, it is observable, that upon the Second Reading thereof in the House of Commons, a Motion being made for committing the Bill, the same was oppos'd by some Members ; but upon a Division, it was carried in the Affirmative by 133 against 56.

A Bill pass'd for that Purpose.

April 16. The King came to the House of Peers, and put an End to the Session with the following Speech :

The King's Speech at putting an End to the Parliament.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Give you my hearty Thanks for the great Dispatch you have given to the Publick Businets, and for the Confidence you have reposed in Me for the Honour and Security of My Kingdom. So short a Session, at so critical and important a Conjuncture, concluded with so much Unanimity, and so just a Regard for the true Interest of the Nation, will give great Weight and Credit to all Our publick Transactions, and procure that Respect and Dependence upon the great Council of this Nation, which are so necessary to support the Honour and Interest of Great-Britain both at Home and Abroad.

" Gentle-

Anno 7 Geo. II.

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“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I must acknowledge in a particular Manner the Zeal
“ and Readiness which you have shewn in raising in so
“ effectual a Manner, the necessary Supplies for the Service
“ of the Year: the Provision you have made for paying off
“ great Part of the Debt of the Navy, a Debt necessarily
“ and unavoidably incurred, and carrying a higher Interest
“ than the old National Debt, and which, being at a Dis-
“ count, increased the Charge and Expence in all Contracts
“ of the Navy and Victualling, must certainly be thought
“ of singular Service to the Publick.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The Time limited for the Expiration of this Parlia-
“ ment drawing near, I have resolved forthwith to issue
“ my Proclamation for the dissolving of it, and for calling
“ a new Parliament, that the Inconveniencies unavoidably
“ attending a general Election, may be put an End to
“ as soon as possible; but I should think My Self inex-
“ cusable, if I parted with this Parliament without do-
“ ing them the Justice to acknowledge the many signal
“ Proofs they have given, thro’ the Course of Seven
“ Years, of their Duty, Fidelity, and Attachment to
“ My Person and Government, and their constant Regard
“ to the true Interest of their Country.

“ The Prosperity and Glory of My Reign depend upon
“ the Affections and Happiness of My People, and the Hap-
“ piness of My People upon My preserving to them all
“ their legal Rights and Privileges, as established under the
“ present Settlement of the Crown in the Protestant Line. A
“ due Execution and strict Observance of the Laws, are the
“ best and only Security both to Sovereign and Subject;
“ their Interest is mutual and inseparable, and therefore
“ their Endeavours for the Support of each other ought to
“ be equal and reciprocal; any Infringement or Incroach-
“ ment upon the Rights of either is a Diminution of the
“ Strength of both, which kept within their due Bounds
“ and Limits, make that just Balance, which is necessary
“ for the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and for the
“ Protection and Prosperity of the People. What depends
“ upon Me, shall, on my Part, be religiously kept and ob-
“ served, and I make no doubt of receiving the just Returns
“ of Duty and Gratitude from them.

“ I must in a particular Manner recommend it to you,
“ and from your known Affection do expect, that you will
“ use your best Endeavours to heal the unhappy Divisions of
“ the Nation, and to reconcile the Minds of all, who truly
“ and sincerely wish the Safety and Welfare of the King-
“ dom. It would be the greatest Satisfaction to Me to see

“ a perfect Harmony restored amongst them that have one. Anno 7 Geo. II.

“ and the same Principle at Heart, that there might be no

“ Distinction, but of such as mean the Support of Our

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“ present happy Constitution in Church and State, and

“ such as wish to subvert both. This is the only Distinction

“ that ought to prevail in this Country, where the Interest

“ of King and People is one and the same, and where

“ they cannot subsist but by being so. If Religion, Liber-

“ ty, and Property, were never at any Time more fully en-

“ joyed, without not only any Attempt, but even the Sha-

“ dow of a Design, to alter and invade them, let not these

“ sacred Names be made use of, as artful and plausible Pre-

“ tences to undermine the present Establishment, under

“ which alone they can be safe.

“ I have nothing to wish but that My People may not

“ be misguided; I appeal to their own Consciences for My

“ Conduct, and hope the Providence of God will direct

“ them in the Choice of such Representatives, as are most

“ fit to be trusted with the Care and Preservation of the

“ Protestant Religion, the present Establishment, and all

“ the Religious and Civil Rights of Great-Britain.

After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, prorogued the Parliament to the 14th of May; but on the 18th of April, a Proclamation was issued for their Dissolution, and for the calling a new Parliament,

The End of the Third Volume





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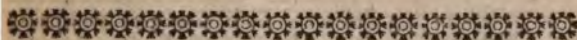
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THE APPENDIX.



*Mr. PRIOR's Account of his Examination,
before the Committee of Secrecy appointed
to inquire into the Negotiations, relating
to the Treaty of Utrecht. [See Vol. I.
p. 28.]*



ON outward Appearance, they were all very civil; set me a Chair equal to the Table where they sat, and next to Secretary Stanhope, who had the Books and Papers of the Secretary's Office before him. Mr. Walpole the Chairman said little more than mere Compliment. Mr. Lechmere, with great Industry, hid from me, and often himself looked into Papers in Folio, unbound, and covered with a blue Sheet. I did not then know what they were, but during the Examination, I perceived it was the Report then printed, and in some few Days after published. He began with an affected Eloquence, that as I had served in a very high Employment, and with very great Applause, the Committee relied upon my Candour and Probity: That as what they asked me was for the King's Service, so what I answered would be for my own Honour. After this some of them began with several vague Questions: What I knew of the Negotiation? How long I had been acquainted with the Abbe Gaultier? If the Propositions came first from *France*, or if we sent them? And desired me to give them an Account of whatever I could of that whole Matter; which, it seems, they thought I was so ready to do, that some of them took their Pens and Paper, as if I were to begin a Sermon, and they to take short Notes.

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I said, That as I had always acted abroad by the Authority of the Crown of *England*, and had, in Obedience to the King's Commands, given up all the Memorials and Papers which related to that Part of the Peace in which I had a Share, I was desirous to answer the Honourable Committee (before whom I understood such Papers were) in every Thing that might help to explain them: That my Books were already before them; and, as I had already written to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, those Books must even speak for themselves. The Committee seemed to acquiesce in my Answer. Lord *Coningsby* whispered the Chairman, and said, No, we will begin with the Money.

The Committee then desired to know what Money I drew from the Treasury in 1711, when I went into *France*. I answered, two hundred Pounds; and, as I remembered, that was the Sum. I had either Credit from Mr. *Clifford*, on his Correspondent, or from Monsieur *Cantillon*: I could not well remember which, it being now four Years since. Had you these Bills, some of them said, from my Lord Treasurer? I replied, No. They asked me, Was it by his Order? I said, I hoped there was no Occasion for a Reply to that Question. I presumed it would be found, as other Money expended on the like Occasion, by Direction of the Sovereign. I found they were not pleased with this Answer. *Walpole* said, Will you think a little of the Method in which this Examination is to proceed? And Mr. *Prior* will be pleased in the mean Time to retire a little.

When I was called in again, the same Question was asked me, and the same Answer returned. I added, That I well hoped those Sums, and several others of much greater Importance, were paid: That otherwise, for want of Knowledge in the Crown Laws, I should find myself a Beggar; and from an Hôtel at *Paris*, might spend the rest of my Days in the Counter: And here I addressed myself to Mr. *Stanhope*, as to what I had writ to him concerning my Debts. He said, That nothing of all this concerned me. *Prior*, I must apply myself to you upon another Head. I must own myself unexperienced in the Method of Parliament; I have no Papers by me; I have no Council; for want of Memory or Judgment I may err; and tho', Gentlemen, I am accused of nothing, I know not but that I may accuse myself through Inadvertency or Mistake.

Here Mr. *Stanhope* rose up, and told the Committee, That he had the King's particular Direction, that what-

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ever I said to them, or they to the House of Commons, should not be of any Prejudice to myself. I took a Sheet of Paper, which lay before me, and wrote this down, as I did what they had already said to me. Here, after they had whispered, and some even separated themselves from the Table to confer in a Corner of the Room, the Chairman told me I might withdraw; which I did, leaving the Notes I had taken upon the Table.

When I was called in again, I found their Civility much abated, and the Battery quite changed. The most confused Questions were put to me, upon several Heads backward and forward, by *Lechmere* and *Boscarven*, and *Coningsby*, (the two first of whom I think understood not one Word of what they were saying). *Coningsby* at length prevailed. Mr. *Prior*, you were sent out that you might have Time to recollect more particularly upon whom you had Credit, when my Lord of *Oxford* sent you into *France*. *Prior*, I have great Respect to the Earl of *Oxford*; but he never sent me into *France*. And turning to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, who had the Books of the Office of 1711 in his Hand, I said, That as I had the Honour to be sent into *France* by the Queen's especial Appointment and immediate Direction, I presumed the Copy of my Powers were to be found in the Books before him. He turning to it, Mr. *Prior*, is this the Copy of your Instructions? *Prior*, I believe it is; but to give the Committee no further Trouble on this Head, I am ready either now, or any other Time, to produce the Original, as I think it may tend to my Service. Being asked of whom I received Money in *France*? I answered, Of Monsieur *Cantillon*. *Boscarven*, Was he not a Papist? *Prior*, Else, Sir, he could not have been a Banker at *Paris*, which he had been for several Years before I knew him. In one Word, he was the common Banker to whom the *English* addressed themselves, and I think *Clifford* of *Amsterdam* was his Correspondent. *Stanhope* and *Walpole*, I found frowning and nodding at each other, and extremely ashamed at this vile Stuff.

Being sent out, and called in again, I found the Thunder broke out. *Walpole* referred it to *Stanhope* to speak. *Stanhope*, The Committee are not satisfied with your Behaviour to them. I have already told you, that the Lords above, and the Committee here, have taken notice that they find a constant Correspondence on your Side to the Lord Treasurer, but no Answers from him; whereas all your Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke* are entire, and commonly in their right Order. Some of those indeed are

missing,

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missing. The whole Committee echoed the same Thing. *Prior*, I was told some Hours since, by this Honourable Committee, that I should be asked nothing that might prejudice myself. I am a good deal confused; I have no Council; and with great Respect, I look upon this to be a downright Accusation of myself, as if I should have held any Correspondence I was unwilling to declare. I must refer myself to you in this Point, Mr. *Stanhope*. The Letters that we receive, when abroad, from the Secretaries of State, we keep, copying our Answers to them, both which justify our acting according to our Orders sent us; and I presume it will be found that my Letters, which you have in your own Keeping, answer those written to me by the Secretaries of State under whose Departments I acted; which Letters you have likewise. You have also the Letters I have wrote to the Lord Treasurer in my Books, at least those of them that related to the public Affair, and consequently were worth keeping. I did not, nor could I expect a constant Correspondence from him. What I wrote was for his Information; what Use his Lordship made of that Information, I had reason to presume was for the Queen's Service; and the Answers and Directions to me were to come by the Secretary of State. *Committee*, It is very strange that not above two or three Letters should appear from my Lord Treasurer. Did he not write more to you? *Prior*, He writ to me several Times, and I obey'd his Commands intimated to me therein. Those Commands performed, the Letters were of no Use, and I no more kept them than I did Letters received from other Noblemen, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Halifax*, Lord *Harcourt*, then Lord Chancellor, &c. They related no otherwise to the Negotiation, than in commending me, assuring me that he represented my Services to the Queen in a right Light, and wishing a speedy End to the Negotiation, that I might come home to him.

I was sent out again, and recalled; was asked how many Letters I might in all have received from my Lord Treasurer, and what was the Substance of any of them. *Prior*, As to the Number, I cannot particularly tell: I received a Letter from him sometimes of five, sometimes of ten or twelve Lines, ordering me to pay Sums of Money to Persons who had the Queen's Pension, and were then in *France*, or recommending some of his particular Friends to my Acquaintance, or, which I thought much better, telling me he had ordered the Payment of my Bills; but I might very safely affirm, that I had no Letter that could possibly

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possibly concern the Committee, or any body else. I have one Letter that as Lord Treasurer he writ to me, which related to the Payment of the Dowry of King *James's* Queen *Mary*; a Thing publicly transacted, and known here in *England*: But as no Progress was made in that Affair during my Stay in *France*, and that it did not belong to the Negotiation of the Peace, I had not indeed given up that Letter, but, as I thought, I could find it, or the Copy of it, if it should have been thought of any Use. In the mean Time, I thought proper, in case any Thing had been done in that Matter, to keep that Letter for my own Justification; as indeed it would have been my Order. *Boscawen*, Sir, you say you do not know how many Letters you had; might you have ten? *Prior*, I believe I might, *Boscawen*, Might you have fourteen? *Prior*, I believe I might, *Boscawen*, Might you have sixteen? *Prior*, Indeed, Mr. *Boscawen*, I have told you that I cannot answer you to any indefinite Number. It was still urged with great Vehemence, that I kept a constant Correspondence with my Lord Treasurer. *Prior*, I am very far from denying it; but he did not keep a constant Correspondence with me. It was my Duty to write to him, and he was to make what Use he pleased of my Letters. I complained sometimes of the Objections I met with at the Court of *France* in the Execution of my Orders; and was very glad when, by the Letters from the Secretary of State, I found my Difficulty made easier: But, Gentlemen, since we are upon this Subject, throughout the whole Course of my Letters to my Lord Treasurer, and even in those I wrote to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, after his Grace's Return both in *England* and *Ireland*, I still complained that my Lord Treasurer did not write to me. And here indeed, being very much teized and vexed, Lord *Coningsby* raving and threatening that these Letters must be produced; I said, If there be such Letters in the World, that contain the Secrets of the Negotiation written by my Lord Treasurer, it might be very well presumed his Lordship kept Copies of them, and he must produce them: For, said I, by the eternal God I know of no such Letters; and you know, my Lord, that your Countryman is no very exact Correspondent. This I said, having known that Lord *Coningsby* had troubled great Men, if not my Lord Treasurer particularly, with Letters, who had never taken Care to answer him. I grant this was very foolishly said; for one should never provoke a Hedge-Hog. *Coningsby* breaking out into a great Passion, This is imposing upon the Committee! *Prior*, Imposing.

my

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my Lord, is a very hard Word. He lifted up his Voice in Anger, and was going on: But *Stanhope*, yet louder than he, swore, that he could produce every individual Scrip of Paper that had been written to him by any Man alive, or that he had written to any Man during his being a Minister abroad. *Prior*, Mr. *Stanhope*, I am sorry I cannot do the like; if it be so, you are the most careful Minister that ever yet was sent abroad. They proceeded in asking me to give an Account of what, they said, I must needs know of the Meeting of the Lords at my House with *Mefnager* and *Gaultier*. I had already heard, that they had consulted their Friends of the Law upon that Point, and had determined to fix upon that Meeting, wherein the Preliminaries were signed, as an Accusation of Treason. How justly I live to the Judgment of all disinterested and honest Men; since first, in the Nature of the Thing, it is impossible for any two Nations in War to come ever to an Accommodation, or begin any Plan, upon which a future Peace may be founded, without some Overture and Intervention of this Kind. All Treaties, from that of *Vervens* down to this Day, have been thus mediated. *Calieres* was in *Holland*, and discoursed and conferred privately with Monsieur *Dyckvelt*, on the Part of the States, above two Years before he took a public Character, and signed the Treaty of *Ryswick*. Monsieur *de Torcy* was publicly in *Holland*, 1709, conferred with the Pensioner, and the Deputies of the States; and our own Plenipotentiaries, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townshend*, reported from those Deputies to Her Majesty, what the French Minister either proposed or granted. *Mefnager* had as full Powers as *France* could give, had owned the Queen's Authority, and seen her Person; and had, by her Majesty's Directions, several Times conferred with the Lords of a Committee of Cabinet; all the World seeing the Man, and knowing the Fact: So that any Meeting after this could not be secret, dangerous, or treasonable. Mr. *St. John*'s Letter on the 25th September, 1711, to Her Majesty informs her immediately of this Meeting, and Her Majesty approves of what is there done, by her especial Warrant for signing the Preliminaries, containing the Demands made by her Order*.

It may be observed that Mr. *St. John* writes to the Queen thus,

“ The Committee of Council met this Morning at the Cockpit, and directed the Earl of *Dartmouth* and myself

“ 10

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“ to confer with Monsieur *Mesnager*: We saw him accordingly this Evening, at Mr. *Prior*'s House, where my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain were likewise present.” The Treason therefore, if there were any, was committed in the Morning by the Committee of Council, and at the *Cockpit*, and not at Mr. *Prior*'s House in the Evening. It may properly here be added, the Queen had signed a Warrant the 17th of September, 1711, to the Lord Keeper, for full Powers*; in which my Lord *Harcourt* then Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Oxford* Lord Treasurer, the Duke of *Buckingham* President of the Council, the Bishop of *Bristol* Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl *Poulett* Lord Steward of the Household, and the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John* Secretaries of State, and *Matthew Prior*, Esq; were nominated and empowered to meet with the *Sieur Mesnager*, provided with sufficient Authority to settle an eventual or conditional Convention between Her Majesty and the most Christian King; and that this Warrant was not made use of, for Reasons given, being very natural, because they were Offers only on the *French* Side, and did not oblige Her Majesty to any Thing: So they were only signed *Mesnager*, and *Dartmouth* and *St. John* are only Witnesses that these Articles are to be looked upon as Conditions which his most Christian Majesty agrees to grant, and which are afterwards to be reduced into Form, and explained to the common Satisfaction of *Great Britain* and *France*. Tho' this Procedure will, without doubt, hereafter appear consonant to common Sense, conducive to the Safety and Good of *Great Britain*, and justifiable by the universal Custom and Law of Nations, *Nunc non erat his locus*. I said, Monsieur *Mesnager* had often been at my House; that the Secretary of State had seen him there; that I had eat and drank, and been abroad with him several Times. They took great hold of this. *Boscawen* expressed himself with great Joy, This is more than we knew before! And from thence they ran wildly back, When I knew *Gaultier*? Where I had been with *Mesnager*? I answered to this in as general Terms as I could. The Chairman perceived that they would lose their Point in this Multiplicity of Questions, and, checking their Speed, restrained it to this one Demand. *Chairman*, What Lords were present at your House at the Meeting when the preliminary Articles were talked of or signed? I answer'd, The two Secretaries of State; for it

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is certain they were so, their Names appearing in the Instrument. *Chairman*, Was my Lord *Oxford* there? *Prior*, I cannot recollect it: One of the Lords were absent; whether the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, or the Earl of *Oxford*, I cannot tell. In all Sincerity and Honour this is Truth. They grew extremely anger'd upon it, and sent me out to recollect if both these Lords were not present.

I came in, and assured them again, That as well as I could remember a Transaction, of which I took no Notes, and which was now above three Years past, and of which I was so far from expecting to be called to any Account, that I thought it was an Honour to me, I could not determine which of the two were absent. I said again, That this was Fact, that I do not remember it: I have only an Idea that one of them was absent. The Answer indeed had this Effect, that it was the same Thing as if they were both absent, since they could not determine which of them was present. But upon this Meeting no less Accusation than an Article of High Treason was to be founded. Was any thing more difficult ever put upon a Man, than to endeavour to extort an Evidence from me, in order to bring those to the Scaffold who were Friends and Patrons, under whose Orders formerly, and with whom jointly now, I had the Honour to act, by the Queen's Directions, and in a Matter not only innocent, but laudable! Or could any thing be more absurd, or more inhuman, than to propose to me a Question, by the answering of which I might (according to them) prove myself a Traytor! Since, as I had heard, every Man who is a Partner, is a Principal in Treason: And notwithstanding their solemn Promise, that nothing which I could say should hurt myself, I had no Reason to trust them; for they violated that Promise about five Hours after (as I shall say anon.) However, I owned I was there present. Whether this was wisely done or no, I leave to my Friends to determine.

From my being taken up by Order of the House of Commons, this Examination was just a Week. They now, after I had been turned out, and returned again, interrogated me: If since my being taken into Custody, I had not seen my Lord of *Oxford*, or any of his Relations? I said, I had seen my Lord *Oxford* the last Sunday at Mr. *Thomas Harley's* House; and was going on to explain that Mr. *Thomas Harley* and I, who were taken up at the same Time, (living within three Doors of each other) commonly dined together at one or the other of our Houses, our respective Messengers guarding us. That on Sunday going to dine with Mr. *Harley*, I saw my Lord *Oxford*

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at the Stairs-head, going out; that I asked him if he dined with us: He told me, he was to dine in better Company: That this was all that passed between us; the Messenger at the Bottom of the Stairs heard every Word I said to him. As I was telling this, they answered it was sufficient, I had seen my Lord *Oxford*, and his near Relations; which was the Question asked.

I here was ordered to retire, and when I was called in again, the Chairman, from amongst many Books and Papers which he had before him, (and the Secretary of State had on the other Side as many; and I perceived many of them were my own) the Chairman, I say, abruptly enough drew out one Half-Sheet of the large Demy Paper, written very foul, and razed in several Places, which, indeed, when he gave into my Hand, I hardly knew what it was, so far as to give any reasonable Account of it, it being without Date or Title, and, as I say, very imperfect as to the very Words and Stile. He asked me drily, and without any other previous Word, If I knew that Hand? *Prior*, There are two Hands in it, one is very like the Hand I write when first I make any Brouillon. *One or two of the Committee*. Sir, What do you mean by a Brouillon? *Prior*, When I write any thing at first only for my own Memory, as to what I would draw up after in a more perfect Manner. I perused this Piece of Paper, and upon a little Reflection, directing myself to Mr. *Stanhope*, said, I believe this Paper contained some Notes upon a Letter I received from his Predecessor my Lord *Bolingbroke*. He was apprised of this before; for he readily turned to the Letter which was registred in the Office-Book. I added, that I thought there were some Notes I had taken in the *French* Language, to enable me to speak more particularly to Monsieur *de Turcy* of the Matters mention'd in the said Secretary's Letter. As that Letter was written four Years before, and I was not in Possession of my own Letters, the Secretary himself and the Committee could best inform themselves of the Substance thereof. There was written, *My Lord, Tr. ne doute point que la Cour de France n'y trouve de remede*. Now whatever Lord that might mean, they had already printed it my Lord Treasurer*; and in so doing had given that Sentence the wrongest Construction imaginable, as proving that my Lord Treasurer would give up *Tournay* to *France*; whereas the whole Hint was meant to renew to the Ministers at that Court, that *Tournay* was to be given to the Allies; and

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* *Vide the Report, p. 34.*

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it was to keep the Court of *France* from endeavouring to hope the contrary. As what was in this Brouillon was sometimes an Abridgment, and sometimes a verbal Translation of my Lord *Bolingbroke's* Letter, which Mr. *Stanhope* still held close, and as I read the *French* into *English*, I asked him if the same Sense was in the Letter. He did not deny it. *Coningsby* grew extremely angry, and on a sudden broke out into some Expressions which neither he should have utter'd, nor will I repeat; and so I was ordered to withdraw again; which was into the next Room, where not only a Messenger of the House of Commons, but a Door-Keeper of the Secretary's Office, waited all Day, and were still ready to receive me.

Being called in again, I was interrogated without Method or Connection, as any Member of the Committee pleased, and indeed with Confusion and Disorder enough among themselves; for they sometimes stopped each other's Question, and propos'd new ones of their own. At last, it came to this. *Chairman*, Mr. *Prior*, we cannot doubt but that you are apprised of the whole Affair of *Tournay*. Did my Lord ever write about *Tournay*? *Prior*, I cannot readily answer, as not understanding the Force of the Question: I believe my Lord Treasurer may have writ to me concerning *Tournay* at the Beginning of the Negotiation: I am sure he has spoke to me about *Tournay*: I may be mistaken as to the Time; but I think in 1711 the *French* insisted upon their having *Tournay*: But I very well remember, that the Queen's Instructions to Her Ambassadors for the general Peace, were positive that the *Dutch* should have it: I understood the Negotiation to continue always upon that Foot. I added, that as the Affair of the Barrier was transacted at *Utrecht*, I had nothing in my Instructions relating to that whole Matter, otherwise than as it might relate in general to the Peace. What I have of the whole Negotiation is before you. Here *Walpole* and *Stanhope* grew mightily perplexed; one in a sullen, and t'other in an unbounded Passion. *Coningsby* raved out-right. I may justly protest that I could not conceive the Cause of this Disorder; for I did not know that they had already founded their High Treason upon the Articles of *Tournay*, against my Lord Treasurer; nor can I since comprehend why they did. To shew the Justice, as well as the good Judgment of these Men, it must certainly appear not only extravagant, but ridiculous to all that think righter than the Committee, that is, to all Men living, that an Article of High Treason should be founded against an *English* Minister upon *Tournay*, which was not given up to the *French*,

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French, and no mention ever made of *Lisse*, which actually was given up. This by the way. It may be further observed, that at that Time not one third Part of the Committee themselves did know upon what Point the Accusations either against the Earl of *Oxford*, or any Man else, were to be grounded; several of them having since told me themselves, that they never either drew up or read the Report; but that those Things came to them, as they merrily expressed it, ready cut and dried.

But to return to my Journal; this various and incoherent Manner of Examination having now lasted above nine Hours. Two of my Masters (by the way) Sir *Richard Onslow*, and General *Erle*, had left the Committee almost at the Beginning of the Day; for to give them their Due; they asked me very few Questions while there, and by going away seemed ashamed of the Proceeding: And now *Walpole* himself grew weary of it, and was going, but hindered, and, as it were, kept in the Chair by Mr. *Stanhope*, who said openly, they could not go on without the Chairman. I was ordered to withdraw, and during about half an Hour's Recess into the next Room, or rather Passage, as the Door was by chance opened, I heard them extremely warm and loud with one another. Whilst I was in this little Room, in which the Messenger, under whose Custody I was, and a Door-Keeper of the Secretary's Office, as I have already said, were waiting, *Coningsby*, came out by a Back-Way, as *Boscarwen* did by the Fore-Door. In this Room was a Trunk, and in it several Papers and Memorials, to which the Committee had Recourse during the Examination. The Trunk was open, and I could not but perceive by the Indorsements that many of the Papers were my own. *Coningsby* whispered the Officers to take care that I should not come nigh the Trunk, and really looked on me more like a Fury than a Man; tho' certainly I had all the Right imaginable to see every Paper that related to me in my Examination, which was pretended to be made upon no other Foot, than that the King should be informed of what I had done for his Service in the Negotiation of the Peace; and if the Committee themselves had had really a mind to be apprised of the Truth as to Fact, the hindering a Man whom they intended should become an Evidence from seeing his own Papers, was but an ill Method towards his giving them a clearer Intelligence.

I was now called in for the last Time, and I found that they had collected several Heads of what they thought proper I should set my Hand to. I read them, and made

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some Objections thereunto, but to no Purpose. I said, that to many Questions I had not, nor could, answer in the positive Manner that was there set down: That as to divers Facts, I could not take Things upon my Memory: That as to others, I had indeed said I believed, I thought, I heard, or understood, they were so: That the Omission of these Words made me say positively, and as an Evidence, what I should not be able to maintain, having only answered them as my Memory served me, and as much as I knew of the Heads upon which I had been interrogated; knowing that they themselves had blamed my Answers, for being very imperfect; and I had more than once told them, I was sorry I could not answer them more fully. I objected against these Words: *He confesses, that since his Confinement, he has conversed with the Earl of Oxford, and his nearest Relations.* I did not, I said, confess. Confession supposes a Crime: I was told, I was accused of none: I said, I had seen the Earl of Oxford at Mr. Thomas Harley's; and as I was going to tell the Thing again, *Jesús!* said Coningsby, how perjured is this Man? PRIOR, My Lord, have a Care of ———. Coningsby, No, Sir, 'tis you that must have a Care. Seeing now the Face of the Committee against me; knowing and presuming that if ever the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Oxford, or Lord Bolingbroke himself, should be brought to Trial, I must be sure before the Lords have an Opportunity of explaining what I had said, and declaring what Usage I had found from the Committee, I signed the Paper. I cannot here omit a ridiculous Instance of my Middlesex Justice's Skill in the Law: He was just going to set his Name on the left Hand of the Paper, where I was to have set mine; and, if he had not been timely cautioned by the Chairman, it would have been the Disposition of *Hugh Boscarwen, jurat. coram me, Matthew Prior.*

When I had thus signed the Paper, the Chairman told me, that the Committee were not at all satisfied with my Behaviour, nor could give such an Account of it to the House that might merit their Favour in my Behalf: That at present they thought fit to lay me under a stricter Confinement than that of my own House. Here Boscarwen play'd the Moralist, and Coningsby the Christian; but both very awkwardly. Boscarwen said, that he had often heard Mr. Stepney, (who was a wise Man, and our old Friend) repeat this Proverb, *Near is my Shirt, but nearer my Skin;* and told me, if I had remembered that Saying, and acted according to it, it would have been better for me. And Coningsby said, he had known me a long Time, and was heartily

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heartily sorry for my Condition ; but all this proceeded from my own Fault. Now this kind Commiseration did not last above a Minute ; for the Messenger, to whose House they intended to confine me, being called, *Coningsby* asked him, if his House was secured by Bolts and Bars. The Messenger, who is by Birth a Gentleman, and a very good-natured Man, was astonished at the Question ; and answered, that he never had any in his Custody but Parliament Prisoners, (as he expressed it,) and there were neither Bolts nor Bars in his House. At which *Coningsby* very angrily said, Sir, you must secure this Prisoner ; it is for the Safety of the Nation, if he escapes, you shall answer for it. And now I met with another Hardship, which indeed I could not have expected, as I had all Day taken Notes of the Heads of their Examination, and my Answers, and particularly that Mr. *Stanhope* had, by his Majesty's Order, informed the Committee, that from whatever I should say in this Examination, nothing should or ought to redound to my Prejudice : Nor indeed could it be imagined I should answer upon any other Foot ; for without the King's Consent, I doubt, if I ought at all to have answered to the Committee.

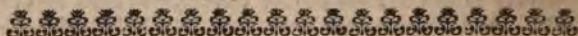
M. P.



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*A LIST of the MEMBERS who voted
for and against the BILL for repealing
the ACTS, To prevent Occasional Con-
formity ; and, To hinder the GROWTH
of SCHISM. [See Vol. I. p. 191.]*



*Those MEMBERS marked thus *, were against
the Motion made by Lord GUERNSEY.
[See Vol. I. p. 193.]*

For the B I L L.

- * **A**BERCROMBY Alexander, *Esq;*
Addison Joseph, *Esq;*
* Aislaby John, *Esq;*
* Anstruther Sir John.
* Anstruther Philip, *Esq;*
* Athhurst Sir Henry.
Aylmer Lord.
* Bailie George, *Esq;*
* Banks Joseph, *Esq;*
* Bellamy William, *Esq;*
Bere Thomas, *Esq;*
* Bethell Hugh, *Esq;*
* Betts William, *Esq;*
* Bigg John, *Esq;*
* Birch John, *Esq;*
Bisse Stephen, *Esq;*
* Bladen Martin, *Esq;*
* Blakiston Nathaniel, *Esq;*
* Bond Dennis, *Esq;*
* Booth Hon. Langham, *Esq;*
* Boscawen Hugh, *Esq;*
* Boteler John, *Esq;*
* Brace John Thurloe, *Esq;*

* Braddy

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- * Braddyl Doddington, *Esq;*
- * Bridges George, *Esq;*
- * Bristow Robert, *Esq;*
- * Broderick Thomas, *Esq;*
- * Brudenel *Hon.* James, *Esq;*
- * Burford *Earl of*
- Burridge John, *Esq;*
-
- * Cadogan *Col.* Charles, *Esq;*
- * Campbell *Sir* James.
- * Campbell John, *Esq;*
- * Campbell John *Jun.* *Esq;*
- * Campbell Daniel, *Esq;*
- * Carpenter *Gen.* George, *Esq;*
- * Carter Laurence, *Esq;*
- * Carteret Edward, *Esq;*
- * Cartwright Henry, *Esq;*
- * Castlemain *Lord Vis.*
- * Castlecomer *Lord.*
- * Caswall *Sir* George.
- * Cater John, *Esq;*
- Cavendish *Lord* James.
- * Chaplin *Sir* Robert.
- * Chetwynd John, *Esq;*
- * Chetwynd William, *Esq;*
- * Chetwynd Walter, *Esq;*
- * Cholmely Hugh, *Esq;*
- * Clark *Sir* Robert.
- * Clerke *Sir* Thomas.
- * Clayton William, *Esq;*
- * Clayton William, *Esq;* (*Blechingley*)
- * Cocks James, *Esq;*
- * Cockburne John, *Esq;*
- * Coffin Richard, *Esq;*
- * Cook *Sir* Charles.
- * Corbet *Sir* Robert.
- * Coventry William, *Esq;*
- * Cowper Spencer, *Esq;*
- * Craigs James *Jun.* *Esq;*
- * Cunningham Henry, *Esq;*
-
- * Daines *Sir* William.
- * Dalrymple *Sir* David.
- * Darcy *Hon.* Conyers, *Esq;*
- Delaval George, *Esq;*
- * Delaval Francis, *Esq;*
- * Dillington *Sir* Tristram,

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- * Difton Jofiah, *Efq;*
- * Docminique Paul, *Efq;*
- * Dodd John, *Efq;*
- * Douglas William *Jun. Efq;*
- * Douglas *Hon. George, Efq;*
- * Drake *Sir Francis Henry.*
- Ducane Richard, *Efq;*

- Egerton *Hon. William, Efq;*
- Eliot Edward, *Efq;*
- Erle Jofeph, *Efq;*
- Erle Thomas, *Efq;*
- * Erle Giles, *Efq;*
- * Eyles *Sir John.*
- * Eyles Francis, *Efq;*

- Fane *Hon. John, Efq;*
- * Farrer William, *Efq;*
- * Farrington *Sir Richard.*
- * Fielding *Hon. William, Efq;*
- * Fitzwilliams *Lord.*
- * Forbes John, *Efq;*
- * Forrefter William, *Efq;*
- * Fowler *Sir Richard.*
- * Frankland Thomas, *Efq;*

- * Gibbon Philips, *Efq;*
- * Gordon *Sir William.*
- * Gould Nathaniel, *Efq;*
- Grantham Richard, *Efq;*
- * Grimston William, *Efq;*
- * Grove Grey James, *Efq;*
- Grenville Richard, *Efq;*
- * Haldane Mungo, *Efq;*
- * Haldane Patrick, *Efq;*
- * Halfey Edmund, *Efq;*
- * Hampden Richard, *Efq;*
- * Harrifon Edward, *Efq;*
- * Heathcote *Sir Gilbert.*
- * Heath Thomas, *Efq;*
- * Heathcote John, *Efq;*
- * Henley John, *Efq;*
- * Hill *Sir Roger.*
- Hillsborough *Lord Vife.*
- * Hillerfden William, *Efq;*
- * Hitche Robert, *Efq;*
- * Hobart *Sir John.*

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- Honeywood Robert, *Esq.*
- Hopkins Edward, *Esq.*
- Hopkins John, *Esq.*
- Hopkins *Sir* Hungerford.
- Hotham *Sir* Charles.
- Hoghton *Sir* Henry.
- Hucks William, *Esq.*

- Janßen *Sir* Theodore.
- Jekyll *Sir* Joseph.
- Jenkins Tobias, *Esq.*
- Jennings *Sir* John.
- Jessop William, *Esq.*
- Ingram Arthur, *Esq.*
- Johnson *Sir* Thomas.
- Johnson *Sir* William.

- Ker *Hon.* William, *Esq.*

- Lawson *Sir* Wilfrid.
- Lechmere Nicholas, *Esq.*
- Lee *Sir* Thomas.
- Lennard *Sir* Samuel.
- Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Radnor*)
- Littleton Thomas, *Esq.*
- Lomax Joshua, *Esq.*
- London John, *Esq.*
- Long *Col.* Charles, *Esq.*
- Lowe Samuel, *Esq.*
- Lowndes William, *Esq.*
- Lowther James, *Esq.*
- Lowther *Sir* William.

- Mead *Sir* Nathaniel.
- Mason Charles, *Esq.*
- Maynard Thomas, *Esq.*
- Meyrick Owen, *Esq.*
- Micklethwait Joseph, *Esq.*
- Middleton *Lord Vis.*
- Milner James, *Esq.*
- Minshall Edward, *Esq.*
- Moleworth *Lord Vis.*
- Monro Robert, *Esq.*
- Monson *Sir* William.
- Monrath *Earl of.*
- Montgomery John, *Esq.*
- Moodie James, *Jun. Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Mordaunt *Hon. Lieutenant General.*

- * Moreton Matthew Ducie, *Esq;*
- * Morgan Anthony, *Esq;*
- * Morpeth *Lord Visc.*
- * Mountague James, *Esq;*
- * Murray Alexander, *Esq;*
- * Murray *Lord James.*

- * Naylor George, *Esq;*
- * Negus Francis, *Esq;*
- * Neville Grey, *Esq;*
- * Newport *Lord Visc.*
- * Norris *Sir John.*

- * Oliphant Charles, *Esq;*
- * Onslow Denzil, *Esq;*
- * Oughton *Sir Adolphus.*

Page *Sir Gregory.*

- * Palmer *Sir Thomas.*
- * Papillon Philip, *Esq;*
- * Parker *Sir Philip.*
- * Paulett *Lord Harry.*
- * Paulett *Lord William.*
- * Pelham Henry, *Jun. Esq;*
- * Pengelly Thomas, *Esq;*
- Philips *Sir John.*
- * Philpot Nicholas, *Esq;*
- Piers William, *Esq;*
- * Pelham Thomas, *Esq;*
- * Pelham *Hon. Henry, Esq;*
- * Piggot Robert, *Esq;*
- * Pynsent *Sir William.*
- Pitt Thomas, *Jun. Esq;*
- * Plumtree John, *Esq;*
- * Pollock *Sir Robert.*
- * Prideaux *Sir Edmund.*
- * Pringle John, *Esq;*

- * Rebow *Sir Isaac.*
- * Rich *Sir Robert.*
- * Rider *Sir Barnham.*
- Roberts Gabriel, *Esq;*
- * Rogers *Sir John.*
- * Rogers Nathaniel, *Esq;*
- * Ruihout *Sir John.*

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- * Samwel *Sir* Thomas.
- * Sawbridge Jacob, *Esq*;
- Scawen *Sir* Thomas.
- * Shannon *Lord Visct.*
- * Shute John Barrington, *Esq*;
- * Sloper William, *Esq*;
- * Smelt Leonard, *Esq*;
- * Smith James, *Esq*;
- * Stanhope Coll. William, *Esq*;
- * Stanhope Charles, *Esq*;
- * Stanwix Thomas *Major General*.
- * Steel *Sir* Richard.
- * St. Quintin *Sir* William.
- * Shelburn *Lord*.
- * Strickland *Sir* William.
- * Stuart William, *Esq*;
- * Stuart *Hon.* John, *Esq*;

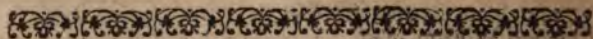
- * Tench *Sir* Fisher.
- * Thompson *Sir* William.
- Thompson William, *Esq*;
- * Townshend *Hon.* Horatio, *Esq*;
- * Treby George, *Esq*;
- * Trelawney *Sir* John.
- * Trenchard George, *Esq*;
- * Tuffnell Samuel, *Esq*;
- * Tyrcomel *Lord Visct.*

- * Vans Patrick.
- Vernon Thomas, *Esq*;

- * Wade George, *Esq*;
- * Wager *Sir* Charles.
- * Wallis William, *Esq*;
- Walter Peter, *Esq*;
- * Warrender *Sir* George.
- Weaver John, *Esq*;
- * West *Hon.* John, *Esq*;
- * Wheat *Sir* Thomas.
- * Whichcote *Sir* Francis.
- * White Thomas, *Esq*;
- * Whitmore William, *Esq*;
- Wilmer William, *Esq*;
- * Wills Charles *General*, *Esq*;
- * Wittewrong *Sir* John.
- * Wortley Edward Montagu, *Esq*;
- Wroth Robert, *Esq*;

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- * Wyldc Thomas, *Esq.*
- * Yonge William, *Esq.*



Against the BILL.

- A** NSTIS John, *Esq.*
- Archer Andrew, *Esq.*
- * Ashe Edward, *Esq.*
- Ashe William, *Esq.*
- * Astley Sir Jacob.
- * Bacon Waller, *Esq.*
- Baker George, *Esq.*
- Bampfild Sir Coppleston Warwick,
- Bampfild John, *Esq.*
- Barrymore Earl of.
- Basset John, *Esq.*
- Bathurst Benjamin, *Esq.*
- Beaumont Sir George.
- Bertie Hon. James, *Esq.*
- Bland Sir John.
- Blundill Sir Montague.
- Brigstock Owen, *Esq.*
- Bruere George, *Esq.*
- Buller John Francis, *Esq.*
- * Bunbury Sir Henry.
- Calmady Shilston, *Esq.*
- Calthorpe Reynolds, *Esq.*
- Carew Sir William.
- Cartwright Thomas, *Esq.*
- Cave Sir Thomas.
- Cecil Hon. Charles, *Esq.*
- Chaffin George, *Esq.*
- * Churchill Coll. Charles.
- Clarke Godfrey, *Esq.*
- Clark George L. L. D.
- Colemore William, *Esq.*
- Compton Hon. Spencer, *Esq.*
- Conyers John, *Esq.*
- Conyers Thomas, *Esq.*

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Cope *Sir* Jonathan.
 Cope *Sir* John.
 Corbet Andrew, *Esq.*
 Corrance Clement, *Esq.*
 Cotton *Sir* John Hynde.
 Crofs *Sir* Thomas.
 Cumming *Sir* Alexander.
 Curzon *Sir* John.

Davers *Sir* Robert.
 Delaune William, *Esq.*
 • Doddington George, *Esq.*
 Dowdeswell William, *Esq.*
 Downe Henry *Visc.*
 Drake Montague Garrard, *Esq.*
 Drax Henry, *Esq.*
 Drew Francis, *Esq.*

Earnly *Sir* Edward.
 Eden *Sir* John.
 • Edgcomb Richard, *Esq.*
 Elford Jonathan, *Esq.*
 England George, *Esq.*
 Evelyn George, *Esq.*

Fleetwood John, *Esq.*
 Fermannagh Lord *Visc.*
 Ferrers Thomas, *Esq.*
 Finch Daniel Lord.
 Fleetwood Henry, *Esq.*
 Flemming Richard, *Esq.*
 Foley Richard, *Esq.*
 Foley Thomas, *Esq.*
 Freeman Ralph, *Esq.*

Godfrey Peter, *Esq.*
 Godolphin Sidney, *Esq.*
 Grahme Hon. James, *Esq.*
 Grevile Hon. Doddington, *Esq.*
 Grosvenor *Sir* Richard.
 Guernsey Lord.
 Gwyn Francis, *Esq.*

Hanmer *Sir* Thomas.
 Hardress John, *Esq.*
 Harley Edward, *Esq.*
 Harvey Daniel, *Esq.*

Harvey

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Harvey Edward, *Esq.*
 Hedworth John, *Esq.*
 Hellier William, *Esq.*
 Herbert James, *Esq.*
 Herne Joseph, *Esq.*
 Heron Henry, *Esq.*
 * Hervey Lord Carr.
 Heysham William, *Esq.*
 Heysham Robert, *Esq.*
 Hickman Sir Willoughby.
 Hill Samdel, *Esq.*
 Hinchingbroke Lord Visct.
 Hopton Richard, *Esq.*
 How Sir Richard.
 Hungerford John, *Esq.*
 Hyde Robert, *Esq.*

 Jeffreys Edward Winnington, *Esq.*
 Jenkinson Sir Robert Banks.
 Jennings James, *Esq.*
 Jennings Philip, *Esq.*
 Ing William, *Esq.*
 Jones Roger, *Esq.*
 Johnson Sir Henry.
 Isham Sir Justinian.

 .Kaye Sir Arthur.
 Keymis Sir Charles.
 Knight William, *Esq.*
 Kynaston Corbet, *Esq.*

 Lambert Edward, *Esq.*
 Lawfon Gilfrid, *Esq.*
 Leicester Sir Francis.
 Leigh Hon. Charles, *Esq.*
 Levinz William, *Esq.*
 Lewen Sir William.
 Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Monmouthshire*)
 Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Southampton*)
 Long Sir James.
 Longueville Charles, *Esq.*
 Lumley Hon. Henry, *Esq.*
 Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*

 Maisters Thomas, *Esq.*
 Medlicot James, *Esq.*
 Mews Sir Peter..

A P P E N D I X.

- Middleton John, *Esq.*
- Miller *Sir* Thomas.
- Molineux Samuel, *Esq.*
- Morrice *Sir* Nicholas.
- Morrice Humphry, *Esq.*
- Mostyn *Sir* Roger.

- Newland William, *Esq.*
- Nicholas Edward, *Esq.*
- Norris Edward, *Esq.*
- North Dudley, *Esq.*
- Northey *Sir* Edward.
- Northey William, *Esq.*
- Northmore William, *Esq.*

- Offley Crew, *Esq.*
- Owen *Sir* Arthur.

- Packer Robert, *Esq.*
- Paget *Lord* Henry.
- Packington *Sir* John.
- Palmer Thomas, *Esq.*
- Palmer *Sir* Jeffery.
- Peytoe William, *Esq.*
- Pitt George, *Esq.*
- Pitt Thomas, *Sen. Esq.*
- Pitt Robert, *Esq.*
- Pole *Sir* William.
- Pulteney William, *Esq.*

- Roberts John, *Esq.*
- Robinson *Sir* William.
- Rolt Edward, *Esq.*
- Rofs *Hon.* Charles, *Esq.*
- Rowney Thomas, *Esq.*
- Rudge John, *Esq.*

- Sandford *Sir* Richard.
- Sandys Samuel, *Esq.*
- Sebright *Sir* Thomas Saunders.
- Selwyn John, *Esq.*
- Shippen William, *Esq.*
- Shuttleworth Richard, *Esq.*
- Smith John, *Esq.*
- Smith Thomas, *Esq.*
- Smithson Hugh, *Esq.*
- Snell John, *Esq.*
- Sondes Edward *Vice.*

• Stanhope

APPENDIX

- Stanhope *Lord Philip.*
- Stephens William, *Esq.*
- Stepney *Sir Thomas.*
- Stonehouse *Sir John.*
- Stradling *Sir Edward.*
- Strangways Thomas, *Esq.*
- Sutton *Brigadier General.*
- Swanton Francis, *Esq.*

Talbot John Ivory, *Esq.*
 Travers Samuel, *Esq.*
 Trevanion John, *Esq.*
 Turner Cholmley, *Esq.*

- Turner *Sir Charles.*
- Turner *Sir Edward.*
- Tyrwhit *Sir John.*

Vaughan Richard, *Esq.*
 Vernon Thomas, *Esq.*
 Vincent Henry, *Esq.*
 Urquhart Alexander, *Esq.*

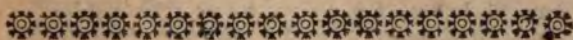
- Walcot Humphrey, *Esq.*
- Wallop *Hon. John, Esq.*
- Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
- Walpole Robert, *Esq.*
- Walter *Sir John.*
- Warburton *Sir George.*
- Ward John, *Esq.*
- Ward William, *Esq.*
- Wentworth *Hon. Thomas, Esq.*
- Wentworth Thomas, *Jun. Esq.*
- Willoughby *Hon. Francis, Esq.*
- Windfor *Hon. Dixey, Esq.*
- Worsley *Sir Robert.*
- Worsley James, *Esq.*
- Wrightson William, *Esq.*
- Wykes William, *Esq.*
- Wyndham *Sir William.*
- Wynn Richard, *Esq.*
- Wynn Thomas, *Esq.*
- Wynn Watkin Williams, *Esq.*

York John, *Esq.*

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A LIST of the MEMBERS who voted for
and against the PEERAGE-BILL.
[See Vol. I. p. 213.]



For the BILL.

ABERCROMBY Alexander, *Esq.*
Aislabie Hon. John, *Esq.*
Anstruther Sir John, *Bart.*
Ashurst Sir Henry.

Bailie George, *Esq.*
Banks Joseph, *Esq.*
Bellamy William, *Esq.*
Bere Thomas, *Esq.*
Bigg John, *Esq.*
Bils Stephen, *Esq.*
Birch John, *Esq.*
Bladen Col. Martin, *Esq.*
Blakiston Nathaniel, *Esq.*
Bond Dennis, *Esq.*
Boscawen Hugh, *Esq.*
Boteler John, *Esq.*
Brace John Thurlow, *Esq.*
Braddyl Doddington, *Esq.*
Bradshaigh Sir Roger, *Bart.*
Broughton Sir Bryan.
Brudenel Hon. James, *Esq.*
Bruere George, *Esq.*
Buckingham Owen, *Esq.*
Burford Earl of.

Cadogan Hon. Charles, *Esq.*
Campbell Sir James.
Campbell Hon. John, *Sen. Esq.*
Campbell Hon. John, *Jun. Esq.*
Campbell Daniel, *Esq.*

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Carbery *Lord*.
Carpenter *Lord*.
Carter Lawrence, *Esq.*
Cartwright Henry, *Esq.*
Cafwal Sir George.
Cater John, *Esq.*
Chetwynd Walter, *Esq.*
Chetwynd John, *Esq.*
Chetwynd William, *Esq.*
Churchill Joshua, *Esq.*
Clarke Sir Robert.
Clayton William, *Esq.*
Cockburn John, *Esq.*
Corbet Sir Robert.
Craiggs James, *Jun. Esq.*

Daines Sir William, *Knt.*
Darcy Hon. Conyers, *Esq.*
Deacle John, *Esq.*
Delaval George, *Esq.*
Dillington Sir Tristram, *Bart.*
Docminique Paul, *Esq.*
Douglas Hon. Col. George, *Esq.*
Douglas William, *Jun. Esq.*

Egerton Hon. William, *Esq.*
Elliot Edward, *Esq.*
Erle Giles, *Esq.*
Eyles Sir John.
Eyre Giles, *Esq.*

Farrer William, *Esq.*
Ferguson Alexander, *Esq.*
Fielding Hon. William, *Esq.*
Forbes John, *Esq.*
Fowler Sir Richard, *Bart.*

Gordon Sir William, *Bart.*
Grahme Hon. James, *Esq.*
Granby *Marquis of*.
Grantham Richard, *Esq.*
Greenville Richard, *Esq.*
Gregory George, *Esq.*
Grimstone William, *Esq.*
Guidott William, *Esq.*
Haldane Patrick, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Haldane Mungo, *Esq.*
 Halfey Edmund, *Esq.*
 Hamilton Lord Archibald.
 Hampden Richard, *Esq.*
 Hardrefs John, *Esq.*
 Heathcote Sir Gilbert, *Knt.*
 Heathcote John, *Esq.*
 Henley John, *Esq.*
 Hartford Earl of.
 Hilderfsden William, *Esq.*
 Hill Sir Roger, *Knt.*
 Houghton Sir Henry, *Bart.*
 Hopkins Edward, *Esq.*
 Hoskins Sir Hunderford, *Bart.*
 Hotham Sir Charles, *Bart.*
 Hungerford John, *Esq.*

Jenkins Tobias, *Esq.*
 Jennings Philip, *Esq.*
 Jessop William, *Esq.*
 Ingram Hon. Arthur, *Esq.*
 Ingram Arthur, *Esq.*
 Johnson Sir Thomas, *Knt.*

Kelfall Henry, *Esq.*
 Ker Hon. William, *Esq.*
 Knight John, *Esq.*

Lechmere Nicholas, *Esq.*
 Leigh John, *Esq.*
 Lennard Sir Samuel, *Knt. and Bart.*
 Lewis Thomas, *Jun. Esq.*
 Littleton Thomas, *Esq.*
 Lomax Joshua, *Esq.*
 London John, *Esq.*
 Long Col. Charles, *Esq.*
 Lowe Samuel, *Esq.*
 Lowndes William, *Esq.*
 Lowther Sir William.

Mafon Charles, *Esq.*
 Maynard Thomas, *Esq.*
 Meyrick Owen, *Esq.*
 Micklethwaite Joseph, *Esq.*
 Middleton John, *Esq.*
 Milner James, *Esq.*

A P P E N D I X.

Miltoun *Lord Vis.*
Minshull Edward, *Esq.*
Monro Robert, *Esq.*
Montrath *Earl of.*
Moreton Matthew Ducie, *Esq.*
Morgan Anthony, *Esq.*
Morpeth Henry *Lord Vis.*
Murray Lord James.

Negus Francis, *Esq.*

Offley Crew, *Esq.*
Onslow Denzil, *Esq.*

Palmer *Sir* Thomas.
Papillon Philip, *Esq.*
Pelham *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
Pelham Thomas, *Esq.*
Pengelly Thomas, *Esq.*
Philpot Nicholas, *Esq.*
Piers William, *Esq.*
Pigot Robert, *Esq.*
Pitt Thomas, *Jun. Esq.*
Plumer Walter, *Esq.*
Plumtree John, *Esq.*
Powlett Lord Harry.
Powlett Lord William.
Powlett Norton, *Esq.*
Pringle John, *Esq.*

Raymond *Sir* Robert.
Rebow *Sir* Isaac, *Knt.*
Rich *Sir* Robert.
Roberts Gabriel, *Esq.*

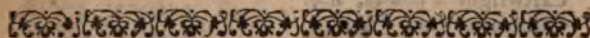
Samwel *Sir* Thomas.
Seymour Lord Piercy.
Shannon Lord Vis.
Shute John Barrington, *Esq.*
Sloper William, *Esq.*
Smith Thomas, *Esq.*
Stanhope Lord Philip.
Stanhope Charies, *Esq.*
Stanhope Col. William, *Esq.*
Stephens Thomas, *Esq.*
Stewart William, *Esq.*
Sutton *Hon.* Richard, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Tench *Sir* Fisher.
 Thompson William, *Esq.*
 Treby George, *Esq.*
 Trelawney John, *Esq.*
 Trevanion John, *Esq.*

Wade George, *Esq.*
 Wager *Sir* Charles.
 Wallis William, *Esq.*
 Wallop John, *Esq.*
 Warrender *Sir* George, *Bart.*
 West *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
 Westfaling Herbert Rudhal, *Esq.*
 Wheat *Sir* Thomas.
 Whichcot *Sir* Francis.
 White Thomas, *Esq.*
 Whitmore William, *Esq.*
 Wittewrong *Sir* John, *Bart.*
 Wills Charles, *Esq.*
 Worley *Sir* Robert, *Bart.*
 Wyld Thomas, *Esq.*

Yonge William, *Esq.*



Against the BILL.

ALLANSON Charles, *Esq.*
 Anstis John, *Esq.*
 Archer Andrew, *Esq.*
 Anstruther Philip, *Esq.*
 Athe Edward, *Esq.*
 Athe William, *Esq.*
 Atley *Sir* Jacob.
 Aylmer *Lord.*

Bacon Waller, *Esq.*
 Baker George, *Esq.*
 Bampffield *Sir* Coppleston Warwick.
 Barrymore *Earl of.*
 Basset John, *Esq.*
 Bathurst Benjamin, *Esq.*
 Beaumont *Sir* George.

Bertie

APPENDIX.

Bertie *Hon. James, Esq.*
 Bertie *Hon. Henry, Esq.*
 Betts William, *Esq.*
 Bland *Sir John.*
 Blundill *Sir Montague.*
 Booth *Hon. Langham, Esq.*
 Bracebridge Samuel, *Esq.*
 Bramston Thomas, *Esq.*
 Bray William, *Esq.*
 Bridgeman *Sir Orlando.*
 Briggs *Sir Humphrey.*
 Britow Robert, *Esq.*
 Brittiffe Robert, *Esq.*
 Broderick Thomas, *Esq.*
 Bromley William, *Esq.*
 Bulkeley *Sir Dewey.*
 Bunbury *Sir Henry.*
 Butler James, *Esq.*

Calmady Shilston, *Esq.*
 Calthorpe Reynolds, *Esq.*
 Carew *Sir William.*
 Carew Nicholas, *Esq.*
 Carteret *Hon. Edward, Esq.*
 Cartwright Thomas, *Esq.*
 Castlemain *Lord Vis.*
 Chafin George, *Esq.*
 Chaplin *Sir Robert.*
 Chiswel Richard, *Esq.*
 Churchill *Col. Charles, Esq.*
 Clarke Godfrey, *Esq.*
 Clarke George, *L. L. D.*
 Clayton William, *Esq.*
 Cocks James, *Esq.*
 Codrington John, *Esq.*
 Coffin Richard, *Esq.*
 Colepeper *Sir Thomas.*
 Colemore William, *Esq.*
 Compton *Hon. Spencer, Esq.*
 Conyers John, *Esq.*
 Conyers Thomas, *Esq.*
 Cope *Sir Jonathan, Bart.*
 Cope *Sir John, Knt*
 Corance Clement, *Esq.*
 Corbet Andrew, *Esq.*
 Coryton *Sir John.*
 Cotton *Sir John Hynde.*

APPENDIX

Courtney *Sir William.*
 Cowper Spencer, *Esq.*
 Cox Charles, *Esq.*
 Crofs *Sir Thomas.*
 Curzon John, *Esq.*

D'aeth *Sir Thomas, Bart.*
 Davers *Sir Robert.*
 Delaune William, *Esq.*
 Denton Alexander, *Esq.*
 Desbouverie *Sir Edward.*
 Devereux *Hon. Price, Esq.*
 Digby *Hon. John, Esq.*
 Diston Josiah, *Esq.*
 Doddington George, *Esq.*
 Doddington George, *Jun. Esq.*
 Dowdeswell William, *Esq.*
 Drake *Sir Francis Henry.*
 Drake Montague Gerrard, *Esq.*
 Drax Henry, *Esq.*
 Drew Francis, *Esq.*
 Ducane Richard, *Esq.*

Eden John, *Esq.*
 Edgcomb Richard, *Esq.*
 Elford Jonathan, *Esq.*
 Elwes *Sir Harvey.*
 England George, *Esq.*
 Earnly *Sir Edward.*
 Evelyn George, *Esq.*

Fane *Hon. John, Esq.*
 Fermannagh *Lord Visc.*
 Finch *Lord.*
 Fleetwood John, *Esq.*
 Flemming Richard, *Esq.*
 Foley Richard, *Esq.*
 Foley Thomas, *Esq.*
 Forrester William, *Esq.*
 Frankland Thomas, *Esq.*
 Freeman Ralph, *Esq.*
 Faller Samuel Pargiter, *Esq.*
 Furnese *Sir Robert.*

Gibbon Shilips, *Esq.*
 Godolphin Sidney, *Esq.*
 Godfrey Peter, *Esq.*

A P P E N D I X.

Gough *Sir Richard, Knt.*
 Gould Nathaniel, *Esq.*
 Grevile *Hon. Doddington, Esq.*
 Grosvenor *Sir Richard.*
 Gwyn Francis, *Esq.*

Hales *Sir Thomas.*
 Hanmer *Sir Thomas.*
 Harvey Edward, *Esq.*
 Harvey Daniel, *Esq.*
 Hedworth John, *Esq.*
 Hellier William, *Esq.*
 Herbert James, *Esq.*
 Herne Joseph, *Esq.*
 Heron Henry, *Esq.*
 Hervey *Lord Carr.*
 Heysham Robert, *Esq.*
 Heysham William, *Esq.*
 Hickman *Sir Willoughby, Bart.*
 Hill Samuel, *Esq.*
 Hillsborough *Lord Vis.*
 Hobart *Sir John*
 Honeywood Robert, *Esq.*
 Hopkins John, *Esq.*
 Howe *Sir Richard.*
 Hutcheson Archibald, *Esq.*
 Hyde Robert, *Esq.*

Janssen *Sir Theodore.*
 Jefferies Edward, *Esq.*
 Jekyl *Sir Joseph.*
 Jenkinson *Sir Thomas Banks.*
 Jennings *Sir John.*
 Jennings James, *Esq.*
 Jordan William, *Esq.*
 Itham *Sir Justinian, Bart.*

Kaye *Sir Arthur, Bart.*
 Keymis *Sir Charles, Bart.*
 Knight William, *Esq.*
 Kynaston Corbet, *Esq.*

Lade John, *Esq.*
 Lambert Edward, *Esq.*
 Lawfon Gilfrid, *Esq.*
 Lawfon *Sir Wilfrid.*
 Lee *Sir Thomas.*

APPENDIX.

Leicester Sir Francis.
Leigh Hon. Charles, *Esq.*
Levinz William, *Esq.*
Lewen Sir William.
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Soberton*)
Lifter Thomas, *Esq.*
Long Sir James, *Bart.*
Lengueville Charles, *Esq.*
Lowther James, *Esq.*
Lumley Hon. Henry, *Esq.*
Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*

Masters Thomas, *Esq.*
Mead Sir Nathaniel.
Medlicot James, *Esq.*
Methuen Paul, *Esq.*
Mews Sir Peter.
Miller Thomas, *Esq.*
Molineux Samuel, *Esq.*
Monson Sir William.
Montague James, *Esq.*
Montgomery John, *Esq.*
Morrice Humphrey, *Esq.*
Mostyn Sir Roger, *Bart.*

Naylor George, *Esq.*
Neville Grey, *Esq.*
Newland William, *Esq.*
Nicholas Edward, *Esq.*
Noble Thomas, *Esq.*
Norris Sir John.
Norris Edward, *Esq.*
North Hon. Dudley, *Esq.*
Northey Sir Edward.
Northey William, *Esq.*
Northmore William, *Jun. Esq.*

Packer Robert, *Esq.*
Packington Sir John.
Paget Lord.
Palmer Sir Jeffery.
Palmer Thomas, *Esq.*
Parker Sir Philip.
Paske Thomas, *L. L. D.*
Petoe William, *Esq.*
Pitt George, *Esq.*
Pitt Robert, *Esq.*

APPENDIX,

Pitt Thomas, *Esq.*
Pulteney William, *Esq.*

Randyl Morgan, *Esq.*
Rashleigh Philip, *Esq.*
Read Sir Thomas, *Bart.*
Reynell Richard, *Esq.*
Reynolds James, *Esq.*
Rider Sir Barnham.
Roberts John, *Esq.*
Rogers Nathaniel, *Esq.*
Rogers Sir John, *Bart.*
Rolt Edward, *Esq.*
Rowney Thomas, *Esq.*
Rudge John, *Esq.*

Sandford Sir Richard, *Bart.*
Sawbridge Jacob, *Esq.*
Scawen Sir Thomas, *Knt.*
Scott James, *Jun. Esq.*
Seabright Sir Thomas Saunders.
Selwyn Col. John, *Esq.*
Shepard Samuel, *Esq.*
Shippet William, *Esq.*
Shuttleworth Richard, *Esq.*
Smelt Leonard, *Esq.*
Smithson Hugh, *Esq.*
Smith John, *Esq.*
Smith James, *Esq.*
Snell John, *Esq.*
Sondes Edward *Lord Visc.*
Stanwix Major General Thomas.
Steel Sir Richard, *Knt.*
Stephens William, *Esq.*
Stepney Sir Thomas.
Stonehouse Sir John, *Bart.*
St. Quinton Sir William.
Strangeways Thomas, *Esq.*
Stradling Sir Edward.
Strickland Sir William, *Bart.*
Swanton Francis, *Esq.*

Talbot John Ivory, *Esq.*
Thompson Sir William.
Townshend Hon. Horatio, *Esq.*
Travers Samuel, *Esq.*
Trenchard George, *Esq.*

APPENDIX:

Taffnell Samuel, *Esq.*
Turner Sir Charles, *Knt.*
Turner Sir Edward, *Knt.*
Turner Cholmondley, *Esq.*
Tyrconnel John *Lord Visc.*
Tyrwhit Sir John, *Bart.*

Vaughan Richard, *Esq.*
Vernon Thomas, *Esq.*
Vernon Thomas, *Esq.*
Urquhart Alexander, *Esq.*

Walcot Humphrey, *Esq.*
Walpole Robert, *Esq.*
Walpole Galfridus, *Esq.*
Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
Walter Sir John, *Bart.*
Ward Sir John,
Ward John, *Esq.*
Ward William, *Esq.*
Weaver John, *Esq.*
Webb Lieutenant General John.
Wentworth Hon. Thomas, *Esq.*
Wentworth Thomas, *Esq.*
Western Thomas, *Esq.*
Willoughby Hon. Francis, *Esq.*
Wilmer William, *Esq.*
Wilfon Daniel, *Esq.*
Windfor Hon. Dixey, *Esq.*
Worsley James, *Esq.*
Wortley Hon. Edward Montague, *Esq.*
Wrightson William, *Esq.*
Wykes William, *Esq.*
Wyndham Sir William, *Bart.*
Wynne Thomas, *Esq.*

York John, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.



Copy of a Letter from his late Majesty, King George the First, to the King of Spain, relating to the Restitution of Gibraltar. [See Vol. I. p. 384.]

Sir, MY BROTHER,

I HAVE learned with great Satisfaction, by the Report of my Ambassador, at your Court, that your Majesty is, at last, resolved to remove the Obstacles that have for some Time delay'd the entire Accomplishment of our Union. Since, from the Confidence which your Majesty expresses towards me, I may look upon the Treaties which have been in Question between us as re-established; and that, accordingly, the Instruments, necessary for the carrying on the Trade of my Subjects, will be delivered out: I do no longer balance to assure your Majesty of my Readiness to satisfy you, with regard to your Demand touching the Restitution of *Gibraltar*; promising you to make use of the first favourable Opportunity to regulate this Article, with the Consent of my Parliament. And to give your Majesty a farther Proof of my Affection, I have ordered my Ambassador, as soon as the Negotiation with which he has been charged shall be finished, to propose to your Majesty new Engagements to be entered into, in Concert, and jointly with *France*, suitable to the present Conjunction, not only for strengthening our Union, but also for securing the Tranquility of *Europe*: Your Majesty may be persuaded that I, on my Part, will shew all the Facility imaginable, promising myself that you will do the same, for the mutual Benefit of our Kingdoms, being most perfectly,

Sir, My Brother,

June 1, 1721.

Your Majesty's Good Brother,

*To the King of Spain
Monsieur my Brother.*

GEORGE, R.

From

APPENDIX.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, of Saturday,
March 4, 1726-7.

Whitehall March 4.

THIS Day Mr. *Inglis*, Marshal and Assistant Master of the Ceremonies, in the Absence of Sir *Clement Cotterell*, Master of the Ceremonies, went by his Majesty's Order to *M. de Palm*, the Emperor's Resident, and acquainted him, that he having, in the Audience he had of the King on *Thursday* last, delivered into the Hands of his Majesty a Memorial highly injurious to his Majesty's Honour, and the Dignity of his Crown; in which Memorial he has forgot all Regard to Truth, and the Respect due to his sacred Majesty; and the said Memorial being also publickly dispersed next Morning in Print, together with a Letter from the *Count de Sinzendorff* to him the said *Palm*, still more insolent and more injurious, if possible, than the Memorial; his Majesty had thereupon commanded him to declare to him the said Resident, *Palm*, that his Majesty looked upon him no longer as a public Minister, and required him forthwith to depart out of this Kingdom. [See the Proceedings of the House of Commons on this Affair. Vol. I. p. 390.]

The Memorial and the Letter abovementioned, are as follows:

Memorial presented, in Latin, to the King of Great Britain, by M. de Palm, the Imperial Resident, upon the Speech which his Britannic Majesty made to the two Houses of his Parliament, on the $\frac{1}{2}$ of January, 1726-7.

Most Serene and Potent KING,

AS soon as the Speech made by your Majesty to the Parliament of *Great Britain* now assembled, came to the Knowledge of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, my most gracious Master; he was struck with the utmost Astonishment, that your Majesty could suffer yourself to be prevailed upon to declare from the Royal Throne, to that most renowned Nation, in a manner hitherto unheard of, as certain and undoubted Facts, several Things, some of which are strained in that Speech to a wrong Sense, some
are

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are entirely distant from the Intentions of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty; and lastly, (which affect much more sensibly than all the rest) some Things absolutely void of all Foundation.

For as to what regards the Peace concluded at *Vienna* with the most Serene King of *Spain*, who can forbear being astonished, that this very Peace, which is built on the Quadruple Alliance signed at *London*, and other Treaties contracted with your Majesty, as its solid and sole Foundation; and for the obtaining of which Peace, your Majesty, together with your Allies, waged so bloody, so long, and so glorious a War, and took yourself so much Pains to procure, should now be alledged by your Majesty as a just Ground of Complaint, and should be made use of as a Pretence for these Things, which hitherto your Ministers have been doing in all Parts, to the great Detriment of the Emperor and the Empire, and the public Tranquillity, and should be represented by your Majesty to the *British* Nation, with so much Animosity against the Emperor and King of *Spain*, as a Violation of Treaties.

After complaining of the Peace made at *Vienna*, Complaint is likewise made of the Treaty of Commerce entered into with *Spain*, which is calculated to promote the mutual and lawful Advantages of the Subjects of both Parties, which is agreeable to the Law of Nations, and to the Customs of all People in Amity with each other; which can in no Respect be of any Prejudice to the *British* Nation, whether we regard the Situation of the Countries, or the particular Nature of the Trade, and which is not in the least repugnant to the Treaties made with *Great Britain*. So that if this Treaty be considered with a Mind free from Prejudice, and from all Design of inflaming the Nation, there will remain no Pretence to say, that this Treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a Nation for which his Imperial Majesty has the greatest Affection and Esteem, and whose glorious Exploits and important Succours no Time will efface out of his Memory.

The other Head of Complaint, which contains such Things as are void of all Foundation, relates principally to that imaginary Alliance which in the Speech is called Offensive, and is there supposed to have been made against your Majesty, between the Emperor and King of *Spain*. But it will not only appear how groundless and frivolous this Supposition is, from the Offer lately made by his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, of entering into a Convention, *De se mutuo non Offendendo*, but will be entirely refuted by the Consideration of the Tenor of the *Treaty of Alliance*
and

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and *Friendship* itself made with the Crown of *Spain*, and communicated in its whole Extent to your Majesty when it was proper; from the Words of which, whether the least Shadow or Appearance of an Offensive Alliance can be drawn, is submitted to the Judgment of the whole World.

Another Part of the Complaint relates to the *Secret Articles made in Favour of the Pretender*, whereof your Majesty asserts that you have *certain and undoubted Informations*, by which Articles it should have been agreed to set the Pretender on the Throne of *Great Britain*. With what View, on what Motive, and to what Purpose, these Informations, founded on the falsest Reports, were represented to the People of *Great Britain*, is not only easy to be understood by his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, but is obvious to the meanest Capacity. But since the inviolable Dignity and Honour of such Great Princes cannot suffer that Assertions of this Nature, intirely unsupported by Truth, should be advanced from the Royal Throne to the whole Nation, and to all Mankind; his Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty has expressly commanded me, that I should declare to your Majesty, and to the whole Kingdom of *Great Britain*, how highly he thinks himself affronted thereby, solemnly affirming, upon his Imperial Word, that there exists no secret Article nor Convention whatsoever, which contains, or can tend to prove the least Title of what has been alledged.

But that the secret Designs, which lie concealed under a Conduct 'till this Time unheard of, may more manifestly appear, it must be observed, that the Time is purposely taken for doing this, when a Negotiation is on Foot at *Paris*, for composing the Differences which have arisen without any Fault of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty; which Negotiation sufficiently shews how much his Imperial and Catholic Majesty is at all Times inclined to Peace, and to the religious Observation of his Treaties.

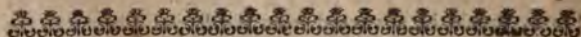
As to what is said of *Gibraltar*, and concerning the Siege thereof, under which in the Speech it is insinuated, as if some other Design was concealed; the Hostilities notoriously committed in the *Indies* and elsewhere, against the King of *Spain*, in Violation of Treaties, seem to have given a very just Occasion to the King of *Spain* for attempting that Siege. But as to the Intentions and Engagements of the Emperor upon that Article, it is easy to see what they are, by the Treaty abovementioned, which has been communicated.

As to what is said in the last Place, concerning the *Offend Trade*,

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Trade, which the Goodness of the Catholic King induced him to favour, (being bound by no Treaty) after he had been apprized of the just Reasons for the Establishment of it, various Expedients for a Composition have been proposed, not only at the *Hague*, but even lately at *Paris*, lest this harmless Method of providing for the Security of the Barrier, should prove an Obstacle to the common Friendship of Neighbouring Powers.

Which Things being thus, the Injury offered to Truth, the Honour and Dignity of his Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty require, that they should be exposed to your Majesty, to the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, and to the World. And his Sacred Imperial Majesty demands that Reparation which is due to him by all manner of Right, for the great Injuries which have been done him by these many Imputations.



A LETTER from the Count de Sinzendorf, Chancellor of the Court to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, sent to Mons. de Palm, the Emperor's Resident at the Court of Great Britain, dated from Vienna the 20th of February, 1727.

HIS Imperial and Catholic Majesty judges it indispensably necessary, upon the Step which has been lately taken in the Country where you are, to send you in the Dispatch here annex'd, a Memorial, which you are to present to the King of *Great Britain*, and to publish afterwards, that the whole Nation may be acquainted with it, whilst Answers are preparing to certain Pamphlets published before the opening of the Parliament.

It is easy to see that the Speech was made for no Purpose, but to excite the Nation to a Rupture, and open War with the Emperor and *Spain*, and to make the Parliament approve the precipitate and burthenfome Measures which the Government has taken for private Ends, but too well known: That not only unwarrantable Inferences and Pretences have been made use of, but that manifest Falshoods have been boldly advanced for indisputable Facts, a Proceeding never seen before among Powers who ought to respect each other, when in the most flagrant Wars; from whence

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whence it ought to be presumed, that the King, whose Sacred Mouth ought to be an Oracle of Truth, must have been himself abused by the Suggestions and false Reports of those, who have the Honour to possess his Confidence; and who think it their Interest to inflame, by these Means, both the Prince and the Nation, for their own private Views and Personal Preservation, without any Regard to the Honour of the Majesty of the Throne, or to the Evils which may result from hence to their own Country, and to all *Europe*.

For these Purposes they establish a Foundation, and lay down as a certain Fact, that there is a positive Article in the Treaty of Alliance between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, to place the Pretender on the Throne of *Great Britain*, and to invade that Kingdom with open Force; and this they do, a few Days after the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Catholick King had, before his Departure from *London*, in a Memorial presented in the Sacred Name of his Master, publicly and in the most authentic Manner, disavowed these Imputations, which sufficiently prove the Emperor's Disavowal of the same, since the pretended Article was equally imputed to the two Powers, and one of them could not have stipulated any thing in the same Treaty without the other. Besides which, it is to be considered, that six Months ago, upon the first Reports of these false Suppositions, the Emperor and King of *Spain*, in order to silence them, proposed a formal Act, *de non offendendo*, into which all the Allies on one Side and the other might enter, and which would effectually have secured the peaceable Possessions, of each of the Powers contracting, either in the Treaty of *Vienna*, or that of *Hanover*, 'till such Time as it had been possible by one general Treaty to remove and quiet the Complaints of all Sides: But these Proposals were rendered ineffectual, by the same Views of those Persons, who chose rather to hinder the peaceable Effects of these just Designs, by Attacks and open Hostilities.

It is further known, and it is even notorious by the solemn Communication made to the King of *Great Britain*, of the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Vienna*, between the Emperor and King of *Spain*, that the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, made at *London* the 2d of *August*, 1718, has been laid down as the unalterable Basis of their Peace; and that all the Articles of this Quadruple Alliance are therein confirmed and corroborated, as if they had been inserted anew: How then can it be supposed, and even given out as a Matter of Fact, that by another Secret Treaty, signed

APPENDIX.

on the same Day, Conditions have been established, and Engagements taken entirely repugnant to the same?

Such a Thing cannot be advanced, without insulting and injuring, in the most outrageous Manner, the Majesty of the two contracting Powers, who have a Right to demand a signal Reparation and Satisfaction proportioned to the Enormity of the Affront, which equally interests their Honour, and that Faith which ought always to be respected among Sovereign Princes.

But if those who endeavour to avail themselves of such feigned Recriminations, and to excuse themselves from the Blame which their rash and turbulent Measures deserve, imagine that this unjustifiable Conduct may at last oblige the Emperor and King of *Spain*, to repel Force by Force, and to defend themselves by all those Means which God has put into their Hands, from the Mischiefs with which they are threatened, and from the Insults and Attacks which have been actually made use of against them, so far that it has been even attempted to engage the *Ottoman Porte* in these unparalleled Designs; at least, ought they not to publish as antecedent Facts, those Things which they have Reason to apprehend may be the Consequence of a War, into which they will have forced these two Powers to enter in their own just Defence?

The Emperor and King of *Spain* hope however from the Divine Goodness, and from the Wisdom of Persons less prejudiced, and less passionate, that more mature and serious Reflections will be made, in order to restore amicably the public Tranquillity, and to save all *Europe* from the Misfortunes of a War, stirred up by Motives so trifling and groundless, which can tend to nothing but the Destruction of the Subject, of his Estate, and of his Commerce.

Their Majesties, the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, ardently desire the Blessing of Peace, and to observe their Treaties with all their Allies, with the strictest Fidelity: But as a mutual Contract can subsist no longer on one Side, than while it remains unbroken on the other; the evil Consequences of a Rupture, if that should happen, ought to be imputed to those alone who have been the Authors of those Infractions.

I have the Emperor's express Order to write this to you in his Name, that you may be able to destroy the Falshoods and Calumnies, which have been charged on the high contracting Parties of the Treaty of *Vienna*, who have no other View, but that of making Peace between themselves, without hurting any one else.

I am, &c.

SINZENDORF.

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*A LIST of the MEMBERS, who voted for granting 115,000*l.* for making good the Arrears of the CIVIL LIST, April 23, 1729. [See Vol. II. p. 49.]*

ANDREWS Townshend, *Esq.*
 Arundel Hon. Richard, *Esq.*
 Ashe Edward, *Esq.*
 Ashburnham Sir William.

Bacon Sir Edmund, *Bart.* (of Gillingham)

Bacon Waller, *Esq.*

Baker Hercules, *Esq.*

Beaucherck Lord Vere.

Beaucherck Lord William.

Berkeley Hon. Col. Henry, *Esq.*

Birch John, *Esq.*

Bishop Sir Cecil, *Bart.*

Bladen Col. Martin, *Esq.*

Bladen Thomas, *Esq.*

Bond Dennis, *Esq.*

Bradshaigh Sir Roger, *Bart.*

Brereton Thomas, *Esq.*

Bridgeman Sir Orlando, *Bart.*

Bristow Robert, *Esq.*

Brittiffe Robert, *Esq.*

Brodie Alexander, *Esq.*

Brooksbank Stamp, *Esq.*

Brudenel Hon. James, *Esq.*

Burchet Josiah, *Esq.*

Burrard Paul, *Esq.*

Byng Hon. Pattee, *Esq.*

Byng Hon. Robert, *Esq.*

Caernarvon Marquis of.

Campbell Daniel, *Esq.*

Campbell Sir James, *Bart.*

Campbell Col. James, *Esq.*

Campbell John, *Esq.*

Campbell John, *Esq.*

Campbell Patrick, *Esq.*

Carr William, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Carey Walter, *Esq.*
Castlemain Lord Vis.
Caswal Sir George, *Knt.*
Cavendish Lord Charles.
Cavendish Lord James.
Chetwynd Walter, *Esq.*
Chapple William, *Esq.*
Clavering John, *Esq.*
Clayton William, *Esq.* (*Westminster*)
Clayton William, *Esq.* (*Blackingley*)
Clutterbuck Thomas, *Esq.*
Cockburne John, *Esq.*
Collyer Hon. Captain Charles, *Esq.*
Conduit John, *Esq.*
Cope Col. John, *Esq.*
Coppleston Thomas, *Esq.*
Corbet William, *Esq.*
Corker Robert, *Esq.*
Cornwallis Hon. John, *Esq.*
Cornwallis Hon. Stephen, *Esq.*
Cotton Sir Robert, *Bart.*
Cracherode Anthony, *Esq.*
Crispe Thomas, *Esq.*
Croft Sir Archer, *Bart.*
Cross John, *Esq.*
Crowle George, *Esq.*

Darcy Sir Conyers, *Knight of the Bath.*
Docminique Paul, *Esq.*
Doddington George, *Esq.*
Downing Sir George, *Bart.*
Ducket William, *Esq.*
Dunbar Patrick, *Esq.*
Duncombe Anthony, *Esq.*

Edgecombe Richard, *Esq.*
Edwards Samuel, *Esq.*
Egerton Col. William, *Esq.*
Erle Giles, *Esq.*
Erle William Rawlinson, *Esq.*
Evans Captain Richard, *Esq.*
Evelyn John, *Esq.*
Eversfield Charles, *Esq.*
Eyre Robert, *Esq.*

Fane Francis, *Esq.*
Fane Hon. John, *Esq.*

Farrington,

APPENDIX.

Farrington Thomas, *Esq.*
 Finch Lord Daniel.
 Finch Hon. Henry, *Esq.*
 Finch Hon. William, *Esq.*
 Fitzwilliams Lord *Visc.*
 Forbes Duncan, *Esq.*
 Fortescue William, *Esq.*
 Frankland Sir Thomas, *Bart.*

Gage Sir William, *Knight of the Bath, and Bart.*
 Gage Lord *Visc.*
 Galway Lord *Visc.*
 Gibson Thomas, *Esq.*
 Glanville William, *Esq.*
 Glenorchy Lord *Visc.*
 Goddard John, *Esq.*
 Gould John, *Esq.*
 Gould Nathaniel, *Esq.*
 Grant James, *Esq.*
 Gregory George, *Esq.*
 Griffith John, *Esq.*
 Grimstone Lord *Visc.*

Hales Sir Thomas, *Bart.*
 Hales Thomas, *Esq.*
 Hamilton Alexander, *Esq.*
 Hamilton Lord Archibald.
 Handasyde Col. Roger.
 Harris John, *Esq.*
 Harrison George, *Esq.*
 Hartington Marquis of.
 Heathcote George, *Esq.*
 Hedges John, *Esq.*
 Herbert Henry Arthur, *Esq.*
 Herbert Hon. Robert, *Esq.*
 Herbert Richard, *Esq.*
 Herbert Hon. Thomas, *Esq.*
 Heron Patrick, *Esq.*
 Holland Rogers, *Esq.*
 Hope Col. John, *Esq.*
 Hope Thomas, *Esq.*
 Hoſte James, *Esq.*
 Hotham Sir Charles, *Bart.*
 Houghton Sir Henry, *Bart.*
 Howard Hon. Col. Charles, *Esq.*
 Howarth Sir Humphrey.
 Hucks Robert, *Esq.*
 Hughes Edward, *Esq.*

Huxley

APPENDIX.

Huxley George, *Esq.*
Hynxman Joseph, *Esq.*

Jacomb Robert, *Esq.*
Jenison Ralph, *Esq.*
Jeslop William, *Esq.*
Inchequin *Earl of.*
Ingram *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*

Kelsall Henry, *Esq.*
Knatchbull *Sir* Edward, *Bart.*
Knollys Henry, *Esq.*

Lane *Sir* Richard, *Knt.*
Leathes Carteret, *Esq.*
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*of Soberton*)
Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Radnor*)
Liddell George, *Esq.*
Lloyd Philip, *Esq.*
Lloyd Salisbury, *Esq.*
Lomax Caleb, *Esq.*
Longueville Charles, *Esq.*
Lowther *Hon.* Anthony, *Esq.*
Lumley *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
Lumley *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
Lyttleton *Sir* Thomas, *Bart.*

Malpas *Lord Visc.*
Metcalf James, *Esq.*
Methuen *Sir* Paul, *Knight of the Bath.*
Micklethwaite, *Lord Visc.*
Middleton *Col.* John, *Esq.*
Mills *Sir* Richard, *Bart.*
Monfon George, *Esq.*
Moreton *Hon.* Matthew Ducie, *Esq.*
Morrice Humphry, *Esq.*
Morgan *Col.* Maurice, *Esq.*
Morgan Thomas, *Esq.*
Morgan *Sir* William, *Knight of the Bath.*

Negus Francis, *Esq.*
Nelthorpe James, *Esq.*
Nicoll Charles Gounter, *Esq.*
Norris *Sir* John, *Knt.*
Norton Thomas, *Esq.*

Offley Crew, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Onslow Arthur, *Esq. (Speaker)*
 Onslow Col. Richard, *Esq.*
 Orlebar John, *Esq.*
 Oxenden Sir George, *Bart.*

Page John, *Esq.*
 Palmerston, *Lord Visc.*
 Parsons Henry, *Esq.*
 Pearse Thomas, *Esq.*
 Pelham Hon. Henry, *Esq.*
 Pelham James, *Esq.*
 Pelham Thomas, *Esq.*
 Percival, *Lord Visc.*
 Piers William, *Esq.*
 Pitt Col. John, *Esq.*
 Plummer Richard, *Esq.*
 Plumtree John, *Esq.*
 Polhill David, *Esq.*
 Powlet Lord Henry.
 Powlet Lord Nassau.
 Powlet Norton, *Esq.*
 Powlet Lord William.
 Price Uvedale, *Esq.*

Ramfden John, *Esq.*
 Read Col. George, *Esq.*
 Read Sir Thomas, *Bart.*
 Rich Sir Robert, *Bart.*
 Robinson Thomas, *Esq.*

Sabine *Lieutenant General.*
 Saunders Sir George, *Knt.*
 Sayer Dr. Exton.
 Scot Col. James, *Esq.*
 Scrope John, *Esq.*
 Selwyn Charles, *Esq.*
 Selwyn John, *Esq.*
 Shannon, *Lord Visc.*
 Shelly Sir John, *Bart.*
 Shepard James, *Esq.*
 Sloper William, *Esq.*
 Smelt Leonard, *Esq.*
 St. Clair Hon. Col.
 St. Quintin Matthew Chitty, *Esq.*
 Strickland Sir William, *Bart.*
 Stuart William, *Esq.*

Talbot

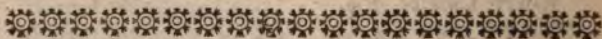
APPENDIX.

Talbot Charles, *Esq.*
 Thompson Edward, *Esq.*
 Thompson Sir William, *Knt.*
 Thornhill Sir James, *Knt.*
 Tilson Christopher, *Esq.*
 Towers Christopher, *Esq.*
 Towers Thomas, *Esq.*
 Townshend Hon. Horatio, *Esq.*
 Townshend Hon. Thomas, *Esq.*
 Townshend Hon. Col. William, *Esq.*
 Tyrrel Brigadier James, *Esq.*

Verney Hon. John, *Esq.*
 Vincent Henry, *Esq.*

Wade Lieutenant General.
 Wager Sir Charles, *Knight of the Bath.*
 Walpole Sir Robert,
 Walter Peter, *Esq.*
 Westby Wardel George, *Esq.*
 White Thomas, *Esq.*
 Whitworth Francis, *Esq.*
 Williams Hugh, *Esq.*
 Williams Sir Nicholas, *Knt.*
 Willes John, *Esq.*
 Willis Sir William, *Bart.*
 Wills Sir Charles, *Knight of the Bath.*
 Willon Daniel, *Esq.*
 Winnington Thomas, *Esq.*
 Wyndham Col. William, *Esq.*
 Wynne Thomas, *Esq.*

Yonge Sir William, *Knight of the Bath,*
 Yorke Sir Philip, *Knt.*



*A LIST of the MEMBERS, who voted
 against granting the above Sum of 115,000 l.
 for the CIVIL LIST.*

ABDY Sir Robert, *Bart.*
 Aislaby William, *Esq.*
 Astley Sir John, *Bart.*
 Austen Sir Robert, *Bart.*

APPENDIX.

Bacon Thomas Sclater, *Esq.*
 Banks John, *Esq.*
 Banks Joseph, *Esq.*
 Barker Sir William, *Bart.*
 Barnard John, *Esq.*
 Bathurst Peter, *Esq.*
 Berkeley Hon. George, *Esq.*
 Bertie Hon. James, *Esq.*
 Booth Robert, *Esq.*
 Bootle Thomas, *Esq.*
 Boone Charles, *Esq.*
 Bowes George, *Esq.*
 Bowles William, *Esq.*
 Bramston Thomas, *Esq.*

Campbell John, *Esq.* (*Pembrokeshire*)
 Charlton St. John, *Esq.*
 Chetwynd Lord Vis.
 Chetwynd Hon. John, *Esq.*
 Child Francis, *Esq.*
 Clerke Sir Thomas, *Knt.*
 Cocks James, *Esq.*
 Compton Hon. George, *Esq.*
 Cornewall Velters, *Esq.*
 Cotton Sir John Hynde, *Bart.*
 Curzon Sir Nathaniel, *Bart.*

Danvers Joseph, *Esq.*
 Devereux Hon. Price, *Esq.*
 Digby Hon. Edward, *Esq.*
 Dutton Sir John, *Bart.*

Ellis Sir Richard, *Bart.*
 Ekou Sir Abraham, *Bart.*
 Eyles Sir John, *Bart.*

Fenwick Nicholas, *Esq.*
 Finch Hon. John, *Esq.*
 Foley Richard, *Esq.*
 Fuller John, *Esq.*
 Furnese Sir Robert, *Bart.*
 Furnese Henry, *Esq.*

Gibbon Philips, *Esq.*
 Gower Hon. William Leveson, *Esq.*
 Gower Hon. Baptist Leveson, *Esq.*
 Grant Sir Archbald, *Bart.*

A P P E N D I X.

Grosvenor Sir Richard, *Bart.*

Hanbury John, *Esq.*

Harvey Michael, *Esq.*

Hawkins Philip, *Esq.*

Holmes Thomas, *Esq.*

Horner Thomas Strangeways, *Esq.*

Howe John, *Esq.*

Jekyll Sir Joseph, *Knt.*

Knight John, *Esq.*

Lawson Gilfrid, *Esq.*

Lawson Sir Wilfrid, *Bart.*

Lee Sir Thomas, *Bart.*

Lewen George, *Esq.*

Limerick Lord *Visc.*

Lisle Edward, *Esq.*

Lister Richard, *Esq.*

Lowe Samuel, *Esq.*

Lówther James, *Esq.*

Lutwýche Thomas, *Esq.*

Mansell Hon. Buffy, *Esq.*

Milner Sir William, *Bart.*

Morpeth Lord *Visc.*

Newland William, *Esq.*

Newton Sir Michael, *Knight of the Bath.*

Norris John, *Esq.*

Oglethorpe James, *Esq.*

Pacey Henry, *Esq.*

Papillon David, *Esq.*

Parsons Humphry, *Esq.*

Perrôt Henry, *Esq.*

Perry Micajah, *Esq.*

Peytoe William, *Esq.*

Phillips Erasmus, *Esq.*

Pitt Thomas, *Esq.*

Pleydell Edmund Moreton, *Esq.*

Pulteney Daniel, *Esq.*

Reynell Richard, *Esq.*

Roberts Gabriel, *Esq.*

Ruff

A P P E N D I X.

Rufhout *Sir John, Bart.*

Sambrook John, *Esq.*

Sandys Samuel, *Esq.*

Saville *Sir George, Bart.*

Saunderson *Sir Thomas Lumley, Knight of the Bath.*

Scawen Thomas, *Esq.*

Sebright *Sir Thomas, Bart.*

Shippen William, *Esq.*

Shirebey *Hon. Robert, Esq.*

Shuttleworth Richard, *Esq.*

Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*

Stanley *Sir Edward, Bart.*

Sutton *Sir Robert, Knight of the Bath.*

Taylor Joseph, *Esq.*

Trelawney Edward, *Esq.*

Tuften Sackville, *Esq.*

Tyrconnel *Lord Vis.*

Vane *Lord Vis.*

Vane *Hon. Henry, Esq.*

Vernon *Captain Edward, Esq.*

Vyner Robert, *Esq.*

Walden *Lord Henry.*

Waller Edmund, *Esq.*

Waller Harry, *Esq.*

Ward John, *Esq.*

Wardour William, *Esq.*

Weaver John, *Esq.*

Worley James, *Esq.*

Wortley Edward Montague, *Esq.*

Wyndham Thomas, *Esq.*

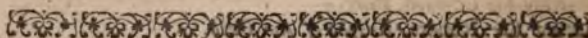
Wyndham *Sir William, Bart.*



APPENDIX.



*A LIST of the MEMBERS who voted
for granting the Sum of 241,259 l. 18.
3 d. for defraying the Expence of 12,000
Hessian Troops, in the Pay of Great
Britain, for the Year 1730.*



For the BILL.

ALSTON Sir Rowland.
Andrews Townshend, *Esq.*
Arscot Arthur, *Esq.*
Anstruther Sir John.
Anstruther Col. Philip, *Esq.*
Arundel Hon. Richard, *Esq.*
Ashe Edward, *Esq.*
Bacon Sir Edmund (*Gillingham*).
Bacon Waller, *Esq.*
Baker Capt, Hercules, *Esq.*
Barrington Sir John.
Beaucherk Lord William.
Berkeley Hon. Henry, *Esq.*
Bladen Thomas, *Esq.*
Bladen Martin, *Esq.*
Bowles William, *Esq.*
Bradshaigh Sir Roger.
Bridgman Sir Orlando.
Bristow Robert, *Esq.*
Brodie Alexander, *Esq.*
Brooksbank Stamp, *Esq.*
Brudenell Hon. James, *Esq.*
Burchett Josiah, *Esq.*
Burrard Paul, *Esq.*
Burrell Peter, *Esq.*
Butler James, *Esq.*
Byng Hon. Pattee, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Byng *Hon. Robert, Esq.*

Campbell John *Esq. (Pembrokeshire)*

Campbell Daniel, *Esq.*

Cambell Sir James.

Campbell Col. John.

Campbell John, *Jun. Esq.*

Carey Walter, *Esq.*

Carnarvan *Marquis of.*

Castlemain Richard *Lord Visc.*

Caswell Sir George, *Knt.*

Cavendish *Lord Charles.*

Churchill *Brigadier General Charles.*

Clavering John, *Esq.*

Clayton William, *Esq.*

Clerke Sir Thomas, *Knt.*

Clifton Sir Robert.

Clutterbuck Thomas, *Esq.*

Cockburn John, *Esq.*

Cope Col. John, *Esq.*

Cope Sir John.

Copleston Thomas, *Esq.*

Corbet William, *Esq.*

Cornwallis *Hon. John, Esq.*

Cornwallis *Hon. Stephen, Esq.*

Cracherode Anthony, *Esq.*

Crispe Thomas, *Esq.*

Croft Sir Archer.

Crosse John, *Esq.*

Crowle George, *Esq.*

Cunningham Henry, *Esq.*

Darcy Sir Conyers, *Knight of the Bath.*

Dalrymple *Capt. John.*

Dalrymple Col. William.

Docminicque Paul, *Esq.*

Doddington George, *Esq.*

Douglas Col. John, *Esq.*

Douglas Archibald, *Esq.*

Drake Sir Francis Henry.

Drax Henry, *Esq.*

Drummond John, *Esq.*

Ducket Major William.

Dunbar Patrick, *Esq.*

Duncombe Anthony, *Esq.*

Egdecombe Richard, *Esq.*

Edward,

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Edwards Samuel, *Esq.*
 Egerton Col. William.
 Erle Giles, *Esq.*
 Erle *Capt.* William Rawlinson.
 Erskine *Capt.* Thomas.
 Evans *Capt.* Richard.
 Evelyn John, *Esq.*
 Eversfield Charles, *Esq.*
 Eyles Sir John.
 Eyles Sir Joseph.
 Eyles *Capt.* Francis.

Fane Francis, *Esq.*
 Farrington Thomas, *Esq.*
 Finch *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
 Finch *Hon.* William, *Esq.*
 Fitzwilliams *Lord Visc.*
 Forbes Duncan, *Esq.*
 Fortescue William, *Esq.*
 Frankland Sir Thomas.

Gage *Lord Visc.*
 Gage Sir William, *Knight of the Bath, and Bart.*
 Gibson Thomas, *Esq.*
 Glenorchy *Lord Visc.*
 Goddard John, *Esq.*
 Gould Nathaniel, *Esq.*
 Gould John, *Esq.*
 Grant James, *Esq.*
 Gregory George, *Esq.*
 Griffith *Capt.* John, *Esq.*
 Grimston William, *Lord Visc.*

Hales Sir Thomas.
 Hales Thomas, *Esq.*
 Hamilton Alexander, *Esq.*
 Hamilton *Lord* Archibald.
 Harris John, *Esq.*
 Harrison George, *Esq.*
 Harrison Thomas, *Esq.*
 Hedges John, *Esq.*
 Herbert *Hon.* Robert, *Esq.*
 Heron Patrick, *Esq.*
 Hervey *Lord* John.
 Hinxman Joseph, *Esq.*
 Houghton Sir Henry.
 Holland Rogers, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Hofte James, *Esq.*
 Hotham *Sir* Charles.
 Howard *Col.* Charles, *Esq.*
 Howarth *Sir* Humphry, *Knt.*
 Hucks William, *Esq.*
 Hucks Robert, *Esq.*
 Hughes Edward, *Esq.*
 Huxley George, *Esq.*

Jacomb Robert, *Esq.*
 Jenifon Ralph, *Esq.*
 Jennings *Sir* John, *Knt.*
 Jessop William, *Esq.*
 Ingram *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*

Kelfal Henry, *Esq.*
 King *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
 Knatchbull *Sir* Edward.
 Knight John, *Esq.*
 Knight Bulstrode Peachey, *Esq.*
 Knollys Henry, *Esq.*

Lane *Sir* Richard, *Knt.*
 Leathes Carteret, *Esq.*
 Lee William, *Esq.*
 Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*Radnor*)
 Liddel George, *Esq.*
 Lloyd *Major* Philip.
 Lloyd Salusbury, *Esq.*
 Lookyer Charles, *Esq.*
 Longueville Charles, *Esq.*
 Lumley *Hon.* James, *Esq.*
 Lumley *Hon.* John, *Esq.*
 Lyttleton *Sir* Thomas.

Malpas *Lord* Vis.
 Manners *Lord* William.
 Martin Thomas, *Esq.*
 Metcalf James, *Esq.*
 Micklethwaite *Lord* Vis.
 Middleton *Col.* John, *Esq.*
 Mill *Sir* Richard.
 Milner *Sir* William.
 Monro *Sir* Robert.
 Monson George, *Esq.*
 Moore Robert, *Esq.*
 Morgan *Col.* Maurice, *Esq.*

Merrice

APPENDIX.

Morrice Humphrey, *Esq.*
 Morton *Hon.* Matthew Ducie, *Esq.*
 Murray John, *Esq.*

Nelthorp James, *Esq.*
 Nicoll Charles Gounter, *Esq.*
 Norris *Sir* John, *Knt.*
 Norton *Col.* Thomas, *Esq.*

Onslow *Col.* Richard, *Esq.*
 Orlebar John, *Esq.*
 Owen William, *Esq.*
 Oxenden *Sir* George.

Palmerston *Lord Visc.*
 Papillon David, *Esq.*
 Parker *Sir* Philip.
 Parsons Henry, *Esq.*
 Pearse Thomas, *Esq.*
 Pelham *Hon.* Henry, *Esq.*
 Pelham Thomas, *Esq.* (*Lewis*)
 Pelham Thomas, *Esq.*
 Pelham James, *Esq.*
 Pelham Thomas, *Jun.* *Esq.*
 Percival *Lord Visc.*
 Piers *Col.* William, *Esq.*
 Pitt Thomas, *Esq.*
 Plumtree John, *Esq.*
 Polhill David, *Esq.*
 Pottinger Richard, *Esq.*
 Powlett *Lord* Harry.
 Powlett *Lord* Nassau.
 Powlett Norton, *Sen.* *Esq.*
 Powlett *Col.* Charles Armand, *Esq.*
 Powlett William, *Esq.*
 Pulteney *Col.* Henry, *Esq.*

Read *Sir* Thomas.
 Reade *Col.* George, *Esq.*
 Rich *Sir* Robert.
 Roberts Gabriel, *Esq.*

St. Quintin Matthew Chitty, *Esq.*
 Sabine *Lieutenant General.*
 Saunders *Sir* George, *Knt.*
 Sayer Exton, *L. L. D.*
 Scrope John, *Esq.*

A P P E N D I X

Scott James, *Jun. Esq.*
 Scott Col. James, *Esq.*
 Selwyn John, *Esq.*
 Selwyn Charles, *Esq.*
 Shelley Sir John.
 Sheppard Sir James, *Knt.*
 Sinclair Col. James, *Esq.*
 Sloper William, *Esq.*
 Snielt Leonard, *Esq.*
 Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*
 Stert Arthur, *Esq.*
 Stiles Benjamin Haskins, *Esq.*
 Strickland Sir William.
 Sutherland Hon. William, *Esq.*
 Sutton General Richard, *Esq.*

Talbot Charles, *Esq.*
 Thompson Edward, *Esq.*
 Thornhill Sir James, *Knt.*
 Tilson Christopher, *Esq.*
 Towers Thomas, *Esq.*
 Townshend Hon. Horatio, *Esq.*
 Townshend Hon. William, *Esq.*
 Townshend Hon. Thomas, *Esq.*
 Treby George, *Esq.*
 Trelawney Sir John.
 Trenchard George, *Esq.*
 Turner Sir Charles, *Knt. and Bart.*
 Tyrrel Brigadier James.

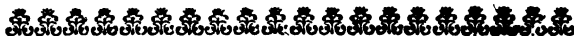
Verney Hon. John, *Esq.*
 Vincent Henry, *Esq.*

Wade General George,
 Wager Sir Charles.
 Walpole Sir Robert.
 Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
 Walter Peter, *Esq.*
 Westby Wardell George, *Esq.*
 White Thomas, *Esq.*
 Whitworth Francis, *Esq.*
 Willis John, *Esq.*
 Williams Sir Nicholas, *Bart.*
 Williams Hugh, *Esq.*
 Willis Sir William.
 Willis Sir Charles, *Knight of the Bath.*
 Winnington Thomas, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Withers Charles, *Esq.*
Wyndham Col. William, *Esq.*
Wynn Thomas, *Esq.*

Yonge Sir William, *Knight of the Bath.*
York Sir Philip, *Knt.*



Against the BILL.

ABDY Sir Robert.
Aston William, *Esq.*
Aislaby William, *Esq.*
Annesley Francis, *Esq.*
Astley Sir John.
Aston Sir Thomas.
Austen Sir Robert.

Bacon Thomas Sclater, *Esq.*
Bacon Sir Edmund, *Bart.*
Bagot Sir Walter Wagstaff. (*Garboldisham*)
Banks Joseph, *Esq.*
Barker Sir William.
Barnard John, *Esq.*
Bateman Lord Viscount.
Bathurst Peter, *Esq.*
Bathurst Benjamin, *Esq.*
Belfield John, *Esq.*
Berkeley Hon. George, *Esq.*
Bertie Hon. James, *Esq.*
Bold Peter, *Esq.*
Bond John, *Esq.*
Boone Charles, *Esq.*
Boothe Robert, *Esq.*
Bootle Thomas, *Esq.*
Boscawen Hon Hugh, *Esq.*
Bramston Thomas, *Esq.*
Bromley William, *Esq.*
Bromley William, *Jun. Esq.*
Browne John, *Esq.*

Cæsar Charles, *Esq.*
Carew Sir William.
Cavendish Lord James.
Charlton St. John, *Esq.*

Chetwynd

APPENDIX.

Chetwynd *Lord Vis.*
 Chetwynd John, *Esq.*
 Child Francis, *Esq.*
 Child William Lacon, *Esq.*
 Cholmondeley Charles, *Esq.*
 Clarke George, *L. L. D.*
 Clayton Sir William.
 Coffin Richard, *Esq.*
 Compton *Hon.* George, *Esq.*
 Cotton Sir John Hynde.
 Curzon Sir Nathaniel.

Davers Sir Jermyn.
 Devereux *Hon.* Price, *Esq.*
 Digby *Hon.* Edward, *Esq.*
 Douglass William, *Esq.*
 Drewe Francis, *Esq.*
 Duff William, *Esq.*
 Dundas Robert, *Esq.*
 Dutton Sir John.

Ellys Sir Richard.
 Elton Sir Abraham.

Finch *Hon.* John, *Esq.* (*Maidstone*)
 Finch *Hon.* John, (*Higham Ferrers*)
 Foley Richard, *Esq.*
 Fortescue *Hon.* Theophilus, *Esq.*
 Fox Stephen, *Esq.*
 Furnese Sir Robert.
 Furnese Henry, *Esq.*

Gower *Hon.* Baptist Leveson, *Esq.*
 Gower *Hon.* William Leveson, *Esq.*
 Grosvenor Sir Richard.
 Grosvenor Thomas, *Esq.*
 Guidott William, *Esq.*
 Gybbon Philip, *Esq.*

Hall Charles, *Esq.*
 Hanbury John, *Esq.*
 Hardress Sir William.
 Harley Edward, *Esq.*
 Harvey Michael, *Esq.*
 Hawkins Philip, *Esq.*
 Heathcote Sir William, *Bart.*
 Heathcote George, *Esq.*

A P P E N D I X

Horner Thomas Strangeways, *Esq.*

Howe *Lord Vis.*

Howe John, *Esq.*

Jekyll *Sir Joseph, Knt.*

Inchequin *Earl of.*

Kemys Edward, *Esq.*

Laroche John, *Esq.*

Lawson Gilfrid, *Esq.*

Lawson *Sir Wilfrid,*

Lee *Sir Thomas.*

Lewen George, *Esq.*

Limerick *Lord Vis.*

Lisse Edward, *Esq.*

Lister Thomas, *Esq.*

Lowe Samuel, *Esq.*

Lowther *Sir James.*

Lowther *Sir William,*

Lutterel Alexander, *Esq.*

Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*

Lyster Richard, *Esq.*

Manfel *Hon. Busty, Esq.*

Masters Thomas, *Esq.*

Master Legh, *Esq.*

Meadows Sidney, *Esq.*

Meredith *Sir Roger.*

Middleton Robert, *Esq.*

Morpeth *Lord Vis.*

Newland William, *Esq.*

Nightingale Joseph Gascoigne, *Esq.*

Noel *Hon. Thomas, Esq.*

Noel *Sir Clobery.*

Noel William, *Esq.*

Norris John, *Esq.*

Northmore William, *Esq.*

Oglethorp James, *Esq.*

Ongley Samuel, *Esq.*

Packington *Sir Herbert Perrot.*

Page John, *Esq.*

Parsons Humphrey, *Esq.*

Perrot Henry, *Esq.*

A P P E N D I X.

Peytoe William, *Esq.*
Philips Erasmus, *Esq.*
Pleydell Edmond Morton, *Esq.*
Plumer Richard, *Esq.*
Plumer Walter, *Esq.*
Powlett Norton, *Jun. Esq.*
Price Uvedale, *Esq.*
Pulteney Daniel, *Esq.*
Pulteney William, *Esq.*

Rashleigh Jonathan, *Esq.*
Reynell Richard, *Esq.*
Rolle John, *Esq.*
Rowney Thomas, *Esq.*
Rudge Edward, *Esq.*
Rushout Sir John.

Sambroke John, *Esq.*
St. Aubin Sir John.
St. John Hon. John, *Esq.*
Sandys Samuel, *Esq.*
Saunderson Hon. Sir Thomas Lumley, *Knight of the Bath.*
Scawen Thomas, *Esq.*
Sebright Sir Thomas Saunders.
Shepherd Samuel, *Esq.*
Shippen William, *Esq.*
Shirley Hon. Robert, *Esq.*
Shuttleworth Richard, *Esq.*
Slingsby Sir Henry.
Stanley Sir Edward.
Stapleton Sir William.
Stonehouse Sir John.

Talbot John Ivory, *Esq.*
Taylor Joseph, *Esq.*
Trelawney Edward, *Esq.*
Tremayne Arthur, *Esq.*
Turner Cholmley, *Esq.*
Tynte Sir Halfwell, *Bart.*

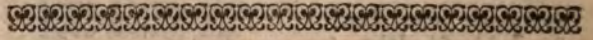
Vane Lord Viscount.
Vane Hon. Henry, *Esq.*
Vaughan William Gywn, *Esq.*
Vernon Captain Edward.
Vyner Robert, *Esq.*

Walcot

APPENDIX.

Walcot John *Esq.*
 Walden Lord Henry.
 Waller Edmund, *Esq.*
 Waller Harry, *Esq.*
 Wardour William, *Esq.*
 Ward John, *Esq.*
 Weaver John, *Esq.*
 Winford Thomas Geers, *Esq.*
 Wortley Hon. Edward Montagu, *Esq.*
 Wright George, *Esq.*
 Wyndham Thomas, *Esq.*
 Wyndham Sir William.
 Wynn Watkin Williams, *Esq.*

 York John, *Esq.*



*A Copy of the PENSION-BILL, passed
 by the House of COMMONS, and rejected
 by the House of LORDS. [See Vol. II.
 p. 81.]*

May it please Your most Excellent Majesty,

‘ **T**HAT it may be enacted, and be it enacted by
 ‘ the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the
 ‘ Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Tem-
 ‘ poral, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled,
 ‘ and by the Authority of the same, That from and after
 the 24th Day of June 1731, no Person, who shall be
 elected a Member to serve in the House of Commons,
 shall vote or sit in the said House, during any Debate there,
 after their Speaker is chosen, until such Member shall
 from time to time, and in manner following, first take the
 Oath herein after mentioned, and subscribe the same in a
 Parchment Roll, to be provided by the Clerk of the House
 of Commons for that Purpose, *viz.*

I *A. B.* do solemnly and sincerely swear, that I have
 not directly or indirectly any Pension during Pleasure, or
 for any Number of Years, from the Crown, nor any Office
 in Part, or in the Whole, from the Crown, held for me, or
 for my Benefit, by any Person whatsoever: And I do so-
 lemnly and sincerely promise and swear, that I will not re-
 ceive, accept, or take, directly or indirectly, during the
Time

APPENDIX.

Time of my being a Member of this Parliament, any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any other Gratuity or Reward whatsoever, or any Office from the Crown, to be held for me, or for my Benefit, in Part, or in the Whole thereof, by any Person whatsoever, without signifying the same to this House, within fourteen Days after I have received or accepted the same, if the Parliament be then sitting, or within fourteen Days after the next Meeting of the Parliament. So help me God.

Which said Oath shall be in this and every succeeding Parliament, solemnly and publicly taken and subscribed by every such Member of the House of Commons, at the Table in the Middle of the said House, at the same Time that he takes the other Oaths by Law directed to be taken, whilst a full House of Commons is there duly sitting with their Speaker in his Chair.

And be it further enacted, that if any Member so taking the Oath, and subscribing as before directed, shall, at the Time of taking the said Oath, have any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any Office from the Crown, in Part, or in the Whole, held in Trust for him, or for his Benefit, or shall, during his being a Member of Parliament, accept, receive, or take any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any other Gratuity or Reward whatsoever, or any Office in Part, or in the Whole, to be held for him, or for his Benefit, from the Crown, without signifying the same to the House, as aforesaid, such Member shall be, and is hereby adjudged and declared to be guilty of wilful and corrupt Perjury, and being thereof convicted by due Course of Law, shall incur and suffer the Pains and Penalties which by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm are inflicted in Cases of wilful and corrupt Perjury, and shall from thenceforth be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying any Office whatsoever.

And be it further enacted, that if any Member elected as aforesaid, shall refuse or neglect to take and subscribe the Oath as before directed, the Place for which such Member was elected, is hereby, without any other Conviction or Proceeding, declared void to all Intents and Purposes, as if such Member was naturally dead.

And be it further enacted, that in Case any Member shall presume to sit or vote in the House of Commons, after the Speaker is chosen, without taking and subscribing the Oath herein before mentioned, such Member shall forfeit the Sum of thirty Pounds for each Day he shall sit and vote as aforesaid, to be recovered and received, with full Costs of Suit, by him or them who shall sue for the same, and to be prosecuted

APPENDIX.

prosecuted by any Action, Suit-Bill, Plaint, or Information, in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record at *Westminster*, wherein no Essoign, Protection, Wager of Law, or more than one Imparllance shall be admitted or allowed; and shall from thenceforth be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying any Office or Employment of Profit or Trust under his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors.

Provided always, and it is hereby declared and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Person shall be made liable to any Disability, Incapacity, Forfeiture or Penalty by this Act laid or imposed, unless Prosecution be commenced within one Year next after the Dissolution, or other Determination of the Parliament, in which such Disability, Incapacity, Forfeiture, or Penalty shall be incurred; or, in Case of a Prosecution, unless the same be carry'd on without wilful Delay, any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.



A LIST of the MEMBERS, who voted for bringing in the EXCISE-BILL. [See Vol. II. p. 353.]

N. B. * *These afterwards voted against the BILL.*

Mr. WINNINGTON, Teller.

A

LSTON Sir Rowland, Bart.
Andrews Townshend, Esq.
Anstruther Sir John, Bart.
Anstruther Col. Philip.

Areskine Charles, Esq.

Arundel Hon. Richard, Esq.

Ashburnham Sir William, Bart.

Ashe Edward, Esq.

Austen Sir Robert, Bart.

Bacon Waller, Esq.

Bacon Sir Edmund, Bart. (*of Gillingham*)

Baker Captain Hercules.

Bateman William Lord Viscount.

Beauclerk Lord Vere.

Bennet Thomas, Esq.

Berkeley Hon. Henry, Esq.

Bladen Thomas, Esq.

Bladen Colonel Martin.

APPENDIX.

Bond John, *Esq.*
 Bradshaigh Sir Roger, *Bart.*
 Bridgman Sir Orlando, *Bart.*
 Bristow Robert, *Esq.*
 Britiffe Robert, *Esq.*
 Brodie Alexander, *Esq.*
 Bromley Henry, *Esq.*
 Brooksbank Stamp, *Esq.*
 Brudenel Hon. James, *Esq.*
 Burchet Josiah, *Esq.*
 Burton William, *Esq.*
 Butler James, *Esq.*
 Byng Hon. Robert, *Esq.*

Campbell John, *Esq.*
 Campbell John, *Jun. Esq.*
 Campbell Daniel, *Esq.*
 Campbell James, *Esq.*
 Campbell Sir James.
 Campbell Peter, *Esq.*
 Carey Walter, *Esq.*
 Carré William, *Esq.*
 Carnarvon *Marquis of.*
 * Cavendish Lord Charles.
 * Cavendish Lord James.
 Chamberlayne George, *Esq.*
 Cholmondeley Hon. James, *Esq.*
 Churchill *Brigadier* Charles.
 * Clerke Sir Thomas, *Knt.*
 Clayton Sir William, *Bart.*
 Clayton William, *Esq.*
 Clifton Sir Robert.
 Clutterbuck Thomas, *Esq.*
 Cockburne John, *Esq.*
 Conduit John, *Esq.*
 Cope Sir John, *Bart.*
 Cope Colonel John.
 Copleston Thomas, *Esq.*
 Corbet William, *Esq.*
 Cornwallis Hon. Stephen, *Esq.*
 Cornwallis Hon. John, *Esq.*
 Cotton Sir Robert Salisbury, *Bart.*
 Cracherode Anthony, *Esq.*
 Croft Sir Archer, *Bart.*
 Crosse John, *Esq.*
 Crowle George, *Esq.*
 Cunningham Henry, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Danvers Joseph, *Esq.*
 Darcy Sir Conyers.
 Docminique Paul, *Esq.*
 Doddington George, *Esq.*
 Douglas Captain Robert.
 Downing Sir George.
 Drummond John, *Esq.*
 Duckett Colonel William.
 Dunbar Patrick, *Esq.*
 Duncombe Anthony, *Esq.*

Edgcumbe Richard, *Esq.*
 Edward Samuel, *Esq.*
 Eliot Richard, *Esq.*
 Erle Giles, *Esq.*
 Erle William Rawlinson, *Esq.*
 Erskine Captain Thomas.
 Evans Captain Richard.
 Evelyn John, *Esq.*
 Eversfield Charles, *Esq.*
 Eyles Captain Francis, *Esq.*

Fane Hon. John, *Esq.*
 Fane Francis, *Esq.*
 Farrington Thomas, *Esq.*
 Finch Hon. Henry, *Esq.*
 Fitzroy Charles, *Esq.*
 Fitzwilliam Lord Visct.
 Forbes Duncan, *Esq.*
 Fortescue William, *Esq.*
 Fox Stephen, *Esq.*
 Frankland Sir Thomas, *Bart.*

Gage Sir William.
 Gallway Lord Visct.
 Gibson Thomas, *Esq.*
 Glenorchy Lord Visct.
 Gough Sir Henry.
 Gould Nathaniel, *Esq.*
 Gould John, *Esq.*
 Grant Sir James, *Bart.*
 Gregory George, *Esq.*
 Griffith Captain John.
 Grimston William Lord Visct.

Hales Sir Thomas, *Bart.*
 Hales Thomas, *Esq.*

APPENDIX.

Hamilton Alexander, *Esq.*
 Hamilton Lord Archibald.
 Hamilton John, *Esq.*
 Handafyd Roger, *Esq.*
 Harbord Harbord, *Esq.*
 Harris John, *Esq.*
 Harrison George, *Esq.*
 Heathcote Sir John, *Bart.*
 Hedges John, *Esq.*
 Henley Henry Holt, *Esq.*
 Herbert Henry Arthur, *Esq.*
 Herbert Hon. Robert Sawyer, *Esq.*
 Hervey Lord.
 Hinxman Joseph, *Esq.*
 Houghton Sir Henry, *Bart.*
 Hope Thomas, *Esq.*
 Hoste James, *Esq.*
 Hotham Sir Charles, *Bart.*
 Howard Colonel Charles.
 Howarth Sir Humphrey.
 Hucks William, *Esq.*
 Hucks Robert, *Esq.*
 Huxley George, *Esq.*

Jekyll Sir Joseph.
 Jennings Sir John.
 Ingoldesby Thomas, *Esq.*
 Ingram Hon. Henry, *Esq.*
 Jewks John, *Esq.*

Kelsal Henry, *Esq.*
 Knight John, *Esq.*
 Knollys Henry, *Esq.*

Lane Sir Richard.
 Laroche John, *Esq.*
 Leathes Carteret, *Esq.*
 Leheup Isaac, *Esq.*
 Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*of Soberton*)
 Lewis Thomas, *Esq.* (*of Radnor*)
 Liddel George, *Esq.*
 Litburne Lord Vis.
 Lloyd Richard, *Esq.*
 Lloyd Captain Philip.
 Lockyer Charles, *Esq.*
 Longueville Charles, *Esq.*
 Lowther Sir William, *Bart.*

APPENDIX.

Lowther *Hon. Anthony, Esq.*
 Lumley *Hon. John, Esq.*
 Lyttelton *Sir Thomas, Bart.*

Malpas *Lord Viscount.*
 Manners *Lord William.*
 Martin *Thomas, Esq.*
 Medlycott *Thomas, Esq.*
 Meredith *Sir Roger, Bart.*
 Micklethwait *Lord Viscount.*
 Middleton *Colonel John.*
 Mill *Sir Richard, Bart.*
 Monro *Sir Robert.*
 Monro *John, Esq.*
 Monson *George, Esq.*
 Montagu *Hon. Colonel Edward.*
 Mordaunt *Colonel John.*
 Moore *Robert, Esq.*
 Morgan *Thomas, Esq.*
 Morton *Hon. Matthew Ducie, Esq.*
 Murray *John, Esq.*

Nasmith *Sir James, Bart.*
 Neal *John, Esq.*
 Nicoll *Sir Charles Gounter.*
 Norton *Thomas, Esq.*

Offley *Crew, Esq.*
 Onslow *Arthur, Esq. (Speaker)*
 Onslow *Colonel Richard.*
 Orlebar *John, Esq.*
 Owen *William, Esq.*
 Oxenden *Sir George.*

Papillon *David, Esq.*
 Parsons *Henry, Esq.*
 Pearse *Thomas, Esq.*
 Peirse *Henry, Esq.*
 Pelham *Hon. Henry, Esq.*
 Pelham *Thomas, Esq. (Lewes)*
 Pelham *Thomas, Esq. (Stammore)*
 Pelham *James, Esq.*
 Pelham *Thomas, Jun. Esq.*
 Percival *Lord Viscount.*
 Piers *Colonel William.*
 Pitt *Thomas, Esq.*
 Pitt *Colonel John.*

APPENDIX.

Polhill David, *Esq.*
Powlett *Lord Harry.*
Powlett William, *Esq.*
Powlet Norton, *Sen. Esq.*
Powlet Norton, *Jun. Esq.*
Powlet Charles Armand, *Esq.*
Price Uvedale, *Esq.*
Pulteney *Colonel Henry.*
Purvice *Captain George.*

Ramsden John, *Esq.*
Reade *Sir Thomas, Bart.*
Reade *Colonel George.*
Rich *Sir Robert, Bart.*
Ryder Dudley, *Esq.*
Roberts Gabriel, *Esq.*
Robinson *Sir Thomas, Bart.*
Rutherford James, *Esq.*
St. Quintin Matthew Chitty, *Esq.*
Saunders *Sir George.*
Serope *Hon. John, Esq.*
Scot James, *for Kincardinsh.*
Selwyn John, *Esq.*
Shannon *Lord Visc.*
Schaw *Sir John, Bart.*
Shelley *Sir John, Bart.*
Sinclair *Colonel James.*
Sloper William, *Esq.*
Smelt Leonard, *Esq.*
Speke George, *Esq.*
Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*
Stuart William, *Esq.*
Sutherland William, *Esq.*
Sutton *General Richard.*

Talbot Charles, *Esq.*
Thompson William, *Esq.*
Thompson Richard, *Esq.*
Thornhill *Sir James.*
Tilson Christopher, *Esq.*
Towers Christopher, *Esq.*
Towers Thomas, *Esq.*
Townshend *Hon. Horatio, Esq.*
Townshend *Hon. Thomas, Esq.*
Treby George, *Esq.*
Trenchard George, *Esq.*
Tuffnel Samuel, *Esq.*

Turner

APPENDIX.

Turner *Sir Charles, Bart.*
 Tylney *Earl of.*
 • Tyrconnel *Lord Visc.*
 Tyrrel *Colonel James.*

Vincent Henry, *Esq.*

Wade *General George.*
 Wager *Sir Charles.*
 Walker Thomas, *Esq.*
 Walpole *Sir Robert.*
 Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
 Walpole Edward, *Esq.*
 Walter Peter, *Esq.*
 Wardour William, *Esq.*
 Wentworth *Sir William.*
 White John, *Esq.*
 Whitworth Francis, *Esq.*
 Willes John, *Esq.*
 Williams *Sir Nicholas.*
 William Hugh, *Esq.*
 Wills *Sir Charles.*
 Windham Thomas, *Esq.*
 Wollaston William, *Esq.*
 Wynn Thomas, *Esq.*

Yonge *Sir William.*
 York *Sir Philip,*
 • Yorke John, *Esq.*



Against bringing in the EXCISE-BILL.

Mr. SANDYS, *Teller.*

ABDY *Sir Robert, Bart.*
 Aislaby William, *Esq.*
 Alington Marmaduke, *Esq.*
 Annesley Francis, *Esq.*
 Astley *Sir John, Bart.*
 Aston *Sir Thomas, Bart.*

Bacon Thomas, *Esq.*
 Bacon *Sir Edmund, Bart. (Gillingham)*
 Bagot *Sir Waller Wagstaff, Bart.*
 Banks John, *Esq.*

Banks

APPENDIX.

Banks Joseph, *Esq.*
 Barnard Sir John,
 Barrington Sir John, *Bart.*
 Bathurst Peter, *Esq.*
 Bathurst Benjamin, *Esq.*
 Belfield John, *Esq.*
 Berkeley Hon. George, *Esq.*
 Bevan Arthur, *Esq.*
 Bold Peter, *Esq.*
 Boscawen Hon. Hugh, *Esq.*
 Bowes George, *Esq.*
 Bowles William, *Esq.*
 Brampton Thomas, *Esq.*
 Broke Philip, *Esq.*
 Bromley William, *Esq.*
 Browne John, *Esq.*
 Bulkeley Lord *Visc.*
 Burrard Paul, *Esq.*
 Burrell Peter, *Esq.*

Cæsar Charles, *Esq.*
 Carew Sir William, *Bart.*
 Cartwright Thomas, *Esq.*
 Caswall Sir George.
 Chafin George, *Esq.*
 Charlton St. John, *Esq.*
 Chetwynd Lord *Visc.*
 Chetwynd John, *Esq.*
 Child Sir Francis.
 Childe William Lacon, *Esq.*
 Cholmondeley Charles, *Esq.*
 Clarke Godfrey, *Esq.*
 Cocks James, *Esq.*
 Coffin Richard, *Esq.*
 Compton George, *Esq.*
 Cornbury Lord *Visc.*
 Cornwall Velters, *Esq.*
 Cotton Sir John Hynde, *Bart.*
 Courtenay Sir William, *Bart.*
 Crisp Thomas, *Esq.*
 Curzon Sir Nathaniel, *Bart.*

Dalrymple Captain John.
 Dalrymple Sir James.
 Dalrymple Hon. Colonel William.
 Davers Sir Jermy, *Bart.*
 Devereux Hon. Price, *Esq.*
 Digby Hon. Edward, *Esq.*

Dux

APPENDIX.

Drax Henry, *Esq.*
Drewe Francis, *Esq.*
Dundas Robert, *Esq.*

Elton Sir Abraham, *Bart.*
Eyles Sir John, *Bart.*
Eyles Sir Joseph.

Fazakerley Nicholas, *Esq.*
Fenwick Nicholas, *Esq.*
Finch Hon. John, *Esq.* (*Maidstone*)
Finch Hon. John, *Esq.* (*Higbam Perrets*)
Foley Edward, *Esq.*
Fortescue Hon. Theoph. *Esq.*
Fuller John *Esq.*
Furnese Henry, *Esq.*

Gage Lord *Vise.*
Gay Robert, *Esq.*
Gower Hon. Baptist Leveson, *Esq.*
Gower Hon. William Leveson, *Esq.*
Grosvenor Sir Robert, *Bart.*
Guidott William, *Esq.*
Gybbon Phillip, *Esq.*

Hall Charles, *Esq.*
Hanbury John, *Esq.*
Harley Edward, *Esq.*
Harrison Thomas, *Esq.*
Harvey Michael, *Esq.*
Hawkins Philip, *Esq.*
Heathcote William, *Esq.*
Heathcote George, *Esq.*
Hedworth John, *Esq.*
Henley Anthony, *Esq.*
Hoby Sir Thomas, *Bart.*
Holland Rogers, *Esq.*
Hope Sir John Bruce, *Bart.*
Howe John, *Esq.*
Hylton John, *Esq.*

Inwen Thomas, *Esq.*
Inchiquin *Earl of.*
Isham Sir Justinian, *Bart.*

Kemp Sir Robert, *Bart.*
Kemp Robert, *Esq.*
Keyt Sir William, *Bart.*

APPENDIX

Lawfon Gilfrid, *Esq.*
 Lawfon Sir Wilfrid, *Bart.*
 Lee Sir Thomas, *Bart.*
 Lee George, *Esq.*
 Leigh Hon. Charles, *Esq.*
 Levinz William, *Esq.*
 Lewen George, *Esq.*
 Limerick Lord *Visc.*
 Lisle Edward, *Esq.*
 Lister Thomas, *Esq.*
 Lloyd Salisbury, *Esq.*
 Lowther Sir James, *Bart.*
 * Lowther Sir Thomas, *Bart.*
 Lutterel Alexander, *Esq.*
 Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*
 Lyfter Richard, *Esq.*

Mackenzie Sir George, *Bart.*
 Mansel Hon. Bussy, *Esq.*
 Masters Thomas, *Esq.*
 Master Legh, *Esq.*
 Meadows Sidney, *Esq.*
 Merrill John, *Esq.*
 Methuen Hon. Sir Paul.
 Middleton Sir William, *Bart.*
 Milner Sir William, *Bart.*
 Monoux Sir Humphrey, *Bart.*
 Morpeth Lord *Visc.*
 Morrice Sir William, *Bart.*
 Mostyn Sir Roger, *Bart.*
 Mountrath Earl of.

Newland William, *Esq.*
 Newton Sir Michael.
 Nightingale Joseph Gascoigne, *Esq.*
 Noel Hon. Thomas, *Esq.*
 Noel Sir Clobery, *Bart.*
 Norris Sir John,
 Northmore William, *Esq.*

Ongley Samuel, *Esq.*

Packer Winchcomb, *Esq.*
 Packington Sir Herbert, *Bart.*
 Palmer Thomas, *Esq.*
 Parsons Humphrey, *Esq.*
 Pelham Charles, *Esq.*

A P P E N D I X.

Perrot Henry, *Esq.*
Perry Micajah, *Esq.*
Peyto William, *Esq.*
Philips Erasmus, *Esq.*
Plumer Richard, *Esq.*
Plumer Walter, *Esq.*
Plumtre John, *Esq.*
Pottenger Richard, *Esq.*
Powlett Lord Nassau.
Pulteney William, *Esq.*

Raffleigh Jonathan, *Esq.*
Reynell Richard, *Esq.*
Rolle Henry, *Esq.*
Rowney Thomas, *Esq.*
Rufhout Sir John, *Bart.*

Sambrooke John, *Esq.*
Sambroke Sir Jer. Vanacker, *Bart.*
St. Aubin Sir John, *Bart.*
St. John Hon. John, *Esq.*
Saunderfon Sir Thomas Lumley.
Scawen Thomas, *Esq.*
Scot Robert, *Esq.*
Sebright Sir Thomas Saunders, *Bart.*
Seymour Francis, *Esq.*
Shafto John, *Esq.*
Shepherd Samuel, *Esq.*
Shippen William, *Esq.*
Shirley Hon. Robert, *Esq.*
Shuttleworth Richard, *Esq.*
Slingby Sir Henry.
Somerset Lord Charles Noel.
Spencer Hon. John, *Esq.*
Stanhope Hon. John, *Esq.*
Stanhope Sir William.
Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*
Stanley Sir Edward.
Stapleton Sir William.

Talbot John Ivory, *Esq.*
Taylor Joseph, *Esq.*
Townshend Hon. William, *Esq.*
Tremayne Arthur, *Esq.*
Turner Cholmley, *Esq.*

Vane Lord Viscount.

APPENDIX.

Vané Hon. Henry, Esq.
Vaughan William Gywn, Esq.
Vernon Sir Charles, Bart.
Vernon Edward Esq.
Vyner Robert, Esq.

Walcot John, Esq.
Walden Lord Henry.
Waller Edmund, Esq.
Waller Harry, Esq.
Ward John, Esq.
Warren Borlace, Esq.
Williams Sir John.
Willoughby Hon. Thomas, Esq.
Winford Thomas, Esq.
Wyndham Thomas, Esq.
Wortley-Montagu Edward, Esq.
Wrighte George, Esq.
Wyndham Sir William.
Wynn Watkin Williams, Esq.

The NAMES of the MEMBERS of the
 House of COMMONS ballotted for on the
 24th of April 1733, to be a Committee for
 enquiring into the Frauds of the Customs,
 with the Number of Votes for each MEM-
 BER. [See Vol. II. p. 375.]

Every one of these voted for the EXCISE.

S IR John Cope, Bart.	294
Mr. Clutterbutk,	293
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Sir Philip Yorke,	290
Sir John Heathcote, Bart.	290
Mr. Clayton,	289
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k 2	Mr.

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<i>Mr. Horace Walpole,</i>	285
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Every one of these voted against the EXCISE.

<i>Mr. Walter Plumer,</i>	209
<i>Sir John Barnard,</i>	208
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<i>Mr. Sandys,</i>	206
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<i>Mr. Alderman Perry,</i>	204
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<i>Sir Edward Stanley, Bart.</i>	202
<i>Mr. Thomas Wyndham,</i>	202
<i>Sir Francis Child, Knt.</i>	201
<i>Mr. Robert Dundas,</i>	200
<i>Sir William Wyndham, Bart.</i>	200
<i>Mr. George Compton,</i>	199
<i>Mr. Edmund Waller,</i>	199
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A LIST of the MEMBERS, who voted
for and against the REPEAL of the SEP-
TENNIAL ACT. [See Vol. III. p.]

For the REPEAL.

ADDY Sir Robert, Bart.
Acton William, Esq.
Aislabie William, Esq.
Allington Marmaduke, Esq.
Annesley Francis, Esq.
Archer Henry, Esq.
Astley Sir John, Bart.

Aston

A P P E N D I X.

Afton *Sir Thomas, Bart.*

Bacon Thomas Selater, *Esq.*

Bacon *Sir Edmund, Bart.*

Bagot *Sir Walter Wagstaff, Bart.*

Banks John, *Esq.*

Banks Joseph, *Esq.*

Barnard *Sir John, Knt.*

Barrington *Sir John, Bart.*

Bateman *Lord Visc.*

Bathurst Peter, *Esq.*

Bathurst Benjamin, *Esq.*

Beaumont *Sir George, Bart.*

Berkeley *Hon. George, Esq.*

Bigg John, *Esq.*

Bishop *Sir Cecil, Bart.*

Bold Peter, *Esq.*

Boscawen *Hon. Hugh, Esq.*

Bowes George, *Esq.*

Bramston Thomas, *Esq.*

Broke Philip, *Esq.*

Bromley William, *Esq.*

Browne John, *Esq.*

Bruce *Sir John Hope, Bart.*

Bulkeley *Lord Visc.*

Bunbury *Sir Charles, Bart.*

Cæsar Charles, *Esq.*

Cartwright Thomas, *Esq.*

Carew *Sir William, Bart.*

Cavendish *Lord James.*

Charlton St. John, *Esq.*

Chafin George, *Esq.*

Chetwynd *Lord Visc.*

Chetwynd John, *Esq.*

Child *Sir Francis, Knt.*

Child William Lacon, *Esq.*

Cholmondeley Charles, *Esq.*

Clarke George, *L. L. D.*

Cockburn John, *Esq.*

Cocks James, *Esq.*

Coffin Richard, *Esq.*

Colerain *Lord.*

Compton *Hon. George, Esq.*

Cornbury *Lord Visc.*

Cornwall Velters, *Esq.*

Cotton *Sir John Hynde, Bart.*

Courtenay

A P P E N D I X.

Courtenay *Sir William, Bart.*
Crispe Thomas, *Esq.*

Dalrymple *Captain John.*
Dalrymple *Sir James, Bart.*
Dalrymple *Hon. Colonel William.*
Davers *Sir Jermyn, Bart.*
Deering *Sir Edward, Bart.*
Desbouverie *Sir Edward, Bart.*
Devereux *Hon. Price, Esq.*
Digby *Hon. Edward, Esq.*
Drew Francis, *Esq.*
Duff William, *Esq.*
Dundas Robert, *Esq.*

Edwards Thomas, *Esq.*
Erfkine Thomas, *Esq.*

Fazakerley Nicholas, *Esq.*
Fenwick Nicholas, *Esq.*
Finch *Hon. John, Esq. (Maidstone)*
Finch *Hon. John, Esq.*
Foley Edward, *Esq.*
Fortescue *Hon. Theophilus, Esq.*
Fuller John, *Esq.*
Furness Henry, *Esq.*

Gay Robert, *Esq.*
Gower *Hon. Baptist Leveson, Esq.*
Gower *Hon. William Leveson, Esq.*
Grosvenor *Sir Robert, Bart.*
Gybbon Philips, *Esq.*

Hall Charles, *Esq.*
Harley Edward, *Esq.*
Harrison Thomas *Esq.*
Harvey Michael, *Esq.*
Hawkins Philip, *Esq.*
Heathcote George, *Esq.*
Henley Anthony, *Esq.*
Hylton John, *Esq.*
Hoby *Sir Thomas, Bart.*
Horner Thomas Strangeways, *Esq.*
Howe John, *Esq.*

Jenison Ralph, *Esq.*
Inchiquen *Earl of.*

APPENDIX.

Inwen Thomas, *Esq.*

Itham Sir Justinian, *Bart.*

Kemp Sir Robert, *Bart.*

Keyt Sir William, *Bart.*

Kemp Robert, *Esq.*

Lee Sir Thomas, *Bart.*

Lee George, *L. L. D.*

Leigh Hon. Charles, *Esq.*

Levinz William, *Esq.*

Lewen George, *Esq.*

Limerick Lord *Visc.*

Lisle Edward, *Esq.*

Litter Thomas, *Esq.*

Lloyd Richard, *Esq.*

Lowther Sir Thomas, *Bart.*

Lutterel Alexander, *Esq.*

Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*

Lyfter Richard, *Esq.*

Mackenzie Sir George, *Bart.*

Mansel Hon. Buffy, *Esq.*

Masters Thomas, *Esq.*

Master Legh, *Esq.*

Meadows Sidney, *Esq.*

Meredith Sir Roger, *Bart.*

Merril John, *Esq.*

Monoux Sir Humphrey, *Bart.*

Mordaunt Sir Charles, *Bart.*

Morpeth Lord *Visc.*

Morrice Sir William, *Bart.*

Mostyn Sir Roger, *Bart.*

Murray John, *Esq.*

Myddleton John, *Esq.*

Newland William, *Esq.*

Newton Sir Michael, *Bart.*

Nightingale Joseph Gascoigne, *Esq.*

Ongley Samuel, *Esq.*

Packer Winchcomb Howard *Esq.*

Page John, *Esq.*

Palmer Thomas, *Esq.*

Parker Armistead, *Esq.*

Parsons Humphrey, *Esq.*

Perrot

A P P E N D I X.

Turner *Sir Charles, Bart.*
 Tylny *Earl of.*
 • Tyrconnel *Lord Visc.*
 Tyrrel *Colonel James.*

Vincent Henry, *Esq.*

Wade *General George.*
 Wager *Sir Charles.*
 Walker Thomas, *Esq.*
 Walpole *Sir Robert.*
 Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
 Walpole Edward, *Esq.*
 Walter Peter, *Esq.*
 Wardour William, *Esq.*
 Wentworth *Sir William.*
 White John, *Esq.*
 Whitworth Francis, *Esq.*
 Willes John, *Esq.*
 Williams *Sir Nicholas.*
 William Hugh, *Esq.*
 Wills *Sir Charles.*
 Windham Thomas, *Esq.*
 Wollaston William, *Esq.*
 Wynn Thomas, *Esq.*

Yonge *Sir William.*
 York *Sir Philip,*
 • Yorke John, *Esq.*



Against bringing in the EXCISE-BILL.

Mr. SANDYS, *Teller.*

A B D Y *Sir Robert, Bart.*
 Aislabie William, *Esq.*
 Alington Marmaduke, *Esq.*
 Annesley Francis, *Esq.*
 Astley *Sir John, Bart.*
 Aston *Sir Thomas, Bart.*

Bacon Thomas, *Esq.*
 Bacon *Sir Edmund, Bart. (Gillingham)*
 Bagot *Sir Waller Wagstaff, Bart.*
 Banks John, *Esq.*

Banks

APPENDIX.

Banks Joseph, *Esq.*
 Barnard Sir John,
 Barrington Sir John, *Bart.*
 Bathurst Peter, *Esq.*
 Bathurst Benjamin, *Esq.*
 Belfield John, *Esq.*
 Berkeley Hon. George, *Esq.*
 Bevan Arthur, *Esq.*
 Bold Peter, *Esq.*
 Boscawen Hon. Hugh, *Esq.*
 Bowes George, *Esq.*
 Bowles William, *Esq.*
 Bramston Thomas, *Esq.*
 Broke Philip, *Esq.*
 Bromley William, *Esq.*
 Browne John, *Esq.*
 Bulkeley Lord *Visc.*
 Burrard Paul, *Esq.*
 Burrel Peter, *Esq.*

Cæsar Charles, *Esq.*
 Carew Sir William, *Bart.*
 Cartwright Thomas, *Esq.*
 Caswall Sir George.
 Chafin George, *Esq.*
 Charlton St. John, *Esq.*
 Chetwynd Lord *Visc.*
 Chetwynd John, *Esq.*
 Child Sir Francis.
 Childe William Lacon, *Esq.*
 Cholmondeley Charles, *Esq.*
 Clarke Godfrey, *Esq.*
 Cocks James, *Esq.*
 Coffin Richard, *Esq.*
 Compton George, *Esq.*
 Cornbury Lord *Visc.*
 Cornwall Velters, *Esq.*
 Cotton Sir John Hynde, *Bart.*
 Courtenay Sir William, *Bart.*
 Crisp Thomas, *Esq.*
 Curzon Sir Nathaniel, *Bart.*

Dalrymple Captain John.
 Dalrymple Sir James.
 Dalrymple Hon. Colonel William.
 Davers Sir Jermyn, *Bart.*
 Devereux Hon. Price, *Esq.*
 Digby Hon. Edward, *Esq.*

Dux

A P P E N D I X.

Drax Henry, *Esq.*
Drewe Francis, *Esq.*
Dundaís Robert, *Esq.*

Elton Sir Abraham, *Bart.*
Eyles Sir John, *Bart.*
Eyles Sir Joseph.

Fazakerley Nicholas, *Esq.*
Fenwick Nicholas, *Esq.*
Finch Hon. John, *Esq.* (*Maidstone*)
Finch Hon. John, *Esq.* (*Higbam Ferrets*)
Foley Edward, *Esq.*
Fortescue Hon. Theoph. *Esq.*
Fuller John, *Esq.*
Furnese Henry, *Esq.*

Gage Lord Vis.
Gay Robert, *Esq.*
Gower Hon. Baptist Leveson, *Esq.*
Gower Hon. William Leveson, *Esq.*
Grosvenor Sir Robert, *Bart.*
Guidott William, *Esq.*
Gybbon Philip, *Esq.*

Hall Charles, *Esq.*
Hanbury John, *Esq.*
Harley Edward, *Esq.*
Harrison Thomas, *Esq.*
Harvey Michael, *Esq.*
Hawkins Philip, *Esq.*
Heathcote William, *Esq.*
Heathcote George, *Esq.*
Hedworth John, *Esq.*
Henley Anthony, *Esq.*
Hoby Sir Thomas, *Bart.*
Holland Rogers, *Esq.*
Hope Sir John Bruce, *Bart.*
Howe John, *Esq.*
Hylton John, *Esq.*

Inwen Thomas, *Esq.*
Inchiquin Earl of.
Isham Sir Justinian, *Bart.*

Kemp Sir Robert, *Bart.*
Kemp Robert, *Esq.*
Keyt Sir William, *Bart.*

Lowk

APPENDIX

Lawson Gilfrid, *Esq.*
 Lawson Sir Wilfrid, *Bart.*
 Lee Sir Thomas, *Bart.*
 Lee George, *Esq.*
 Leigh Hon. Charles, *Esq.*
 Levinz William, *Esq.*
 Lewen George, *Esq.*
 Limerick Lord *Visc.*
 Lisle Edward, *Esq.*
 Lister Thomas, *Esq.*
 Lloyd Salisbury, *Esq.*
 Lowther Sir James, *Bart.*
 * Lowther Sir Thomas, *Bart.*
 Lutterel Alexander, *Esq.*
 Lutwyche Thomas, *Esq.*
 Lyster Richard, *Esq.*

Mackenzie Sir George, *Bart.*
 Mansel Hon. Bussy, *Esq.*
 Masters Thomas, *Esq.*
 Master Legh, *Esq.*
 Meadows Sidney, *Esq.*
 Merrill John, *Esq.*
 Methuen Hon. Sir Paul.
 Middleton Sir William, *Bart.*
 Milner Sir William, *Bart.*
 Monoux Sir Humphrey, *Bart.*
 Morpeth Lord *Visc.*
 Morrice Sir William, *Bart.*
 Mostyn Sir Roger, *Bart.*
 Mountrath Earl of.

Newland William, *Esq.*
 Newton Sir Michael.
 Nightingale Joseph Gascoigne, *Esq.*
 Noel Hon. Thomas, *Esq.*
 Noel Sir Cloberry, *Bart.*
 Norris Sir John.
 Northmore William, *Esq.*

Ongley Samuel, *Esq.*

Packer Winchcomb, *Esq.*
 Packington Sir Herbert, *Bart.*
 Palmer Thomas, *Esq.*
 Parsons Humphrey, *Esq.*
 Pelham Charles, *Esq.*

A P P E N D I X.

Sloper William, *Esq.*
Smelt Leonard, *Esq.*
Speke George, *Esq.*
Stanhope Charles, *Esq.*
Stert Arthur, *Esq.*
Stewart William, *Esq.*
Sutton General Richard.

Thompson Edward, *Esq.*
Thompson William, *Esq.*
Tilson Christopher, *Esq.*
Towers Christopher, *Esq.*
Townshend Hon. Horatio, *Esq.*
Townshend Hon. Thomas, *Esq.*
Townshend Hon. William, *Esq.*
Treby George, *Esq.*
Trenchard George, *Esq.*
Tucker Edward, *Esq.*
Tuffnel Samhel, *Esq.*
Turner Cholmley, *Esq.*
Turner Sir Charles, *Bart.*
Tyrrel Colonel James.

Vincent Henry, *Esq.*

Wade General George.
Wager Sir Charles.
Walker Thomas, *Esq.*
Walpole Sir Robert.
Walpole Horatio, *Esq.*
Walpole Edward, *Esq.*
Walter Peter, *Esq.*
Wardour William, *Esq.*
Wentworth Sir William, *Bart.*
White John, *Esq.*
Whitworth Francis, *Esq.*
Willes John, *Esq.*
Williams Sir Nicholas.
Williams Hughs, *Esq.*
Wills Sir Charles.
Winnington Thomas, *Esq.*
Wilson Daniel, *Esq.*
Wollaston William, *Esq.*
Wyndham Thomas, *Esq.*
Wynn Thomas, *Esq.*

Yonge Sir William.



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- I. *M*R. PRIOR's Examination before the Committee of Secrecy.
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- IX. *A List of the Members who voted for and against bringing in the Excise Bill.*
- X. *The Names of the Members ballotted for, as a Committee to enquire into the Frauds of the Customs, with the Number of Votes for each Member,*
- XI. *A List of the Members who voted for and against the Repeal of the Septennial A*E*.*

F I N I S.



A N E X A C T L I S T O F T H E

Knights, and Commissioners of Shires,
Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the laſt Par-
liament of Queen ANNE.

Thoſe Gentlemen, that have this Mark * before them, were dead; the others were the Sitting Members, at the Time of the Diſſolution of this Parliament.

Bedfordſhire.

SIR Pynſent Chernock, *Bart.*

John Harvey, *Eſq;*

Bedford.

John Cater, *Eſq;*

Samuel Rolt, *Eſq;*

Berkſhire.

Sir John Stonehouſe, *Bart.*

Robert Packer, *Eſq;*

New Windſor.

Chriſtopher Wren, *Eſq;*

* Charles Aldworth, *Eſq;*

Reading.

Felix Calvert, *Eſq;*

Robert Clarges, *Eſq;*

Wallingford.

Richard Bigge, *Eſq;*

Thomas Renda, *Eſq;*

Abingdon.

Hon. Simon Harcourt, *Eſq;*

Buckinghamſhire.

John Verney, *Viſcount Fermannah of*

Ireland.

John Fletewood, *Eſq;*

Buckingham.

* John Radcliffe, *M. D.*

Thomas Chapman, *Eſq;*

Chipping-Wicomb.

Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*

Sir John Wittewrong, *Bart.*

Ailesbury.

Simon Harcourt, *Eſq;* *Maſter of the*
Crown-Office.

John Effington, *Eſq;*

Agmondſham.

Montagu Gerrard, *Eſq;*

James Herbert, *Eſq;*

Wendover.

Sir Roger Hill, *Kt.*

Lieutenant-General Stanhope.

Great Marlow.

Sir James Etherege, *Knt.*

George Bruere, *Eſq;*

Cambridgeſhire.

John Bromley, *Eſq;*

John Jennings, *Eſq;*

University of Cambridge.

Hon. Dixie Windſor, *Eſq;* *Store-*
Keeper of the Ordnance.

Thomas Paſke, *L. L. D. Chancellor*
of the Dioceſe of Exeter.

Town of Cambridge.

Sir John Hynde Cotton, *Bart. one of*
the Commiſſioners of Trade.

Samuel Sheppard, *Eſq;*

A LIST of the House of Commons,

Cheshire.	Penryn.
Sir George Warburton, Bart.	Hugh Boscawen, Esq;
Charles Cholmondley, Esq;	Samuel Trefusis, Esq;
Chester.	Tregony.
Sir Henry Bunbury, Bart. one of	Sir Edmund Prideaux, Bart.
the Commissioners of the Revenue in	James Craigs, Esq; Jun.
Ireland.	Bossiney.
Peter Shakerley, Esq;	Sir William Pole, Bart.
Cornwall.	Paul Orchard, Esq;
Sir William Carew, Bart.	St. Ives.
John Trevanion, Esq;	John Hopkins, Esq;
Launceston.	Sir William Pendarvis, Knt.
John Anstis, Esq;	Forwey.
Edward Herle, Esq;	Henry Vincent, Jun. Esq;
Leskard.	Germayne Wyche, Esq;
* William Bridges, Esq; Secretary	St. Germans.
to the Ordnance.	Edward Eliot, Esq;
Philip Rashleigh, Esq;	John Knight, Esq;
Leppewitheel.	St. Michael.
Sir Thomas Clarges, Bart.	Sir Henry Bellasis, Knt.
Erafinus Lewis, Esq; Under-Secretary	Sir John Statham, Knt.
of State.	Newport.
Truroe.	Sir Nicholas Morrice, Bart.
William Collier, Esq; Inspector of	Humphrey Morrice, Esq;
the Play-House.	St. Marks.
Thomas Hare, Esq; Clerk of the	Francis Scobell, Esq;
Crown in Barbadoes.	Edward Rolt, Esq;
Bodmin.	Kellington.
Hon. Francis Roberts, Esq;	Sir John Coryton, Bart.
Thomas Sclater, Esq;	Samuel Roll, Esq;
Helfton.	Cumberland.
Alexander Pendarves, Esq;	James Lowther, Esq;
Thomas Tonken, Esq;	Gilfrid Lawson, Esq;
Saltaish.	Carlisle.
Jonathan Elford, Esq;	Brigadier Thomas Stanwix, Gover-
William Shippen, Esq;	nor of Gibraltar.
Camelford.	Sir Christopher Musgrave, Bart.
Sir Bouchier Wrey, Bart.	Cockermouth.
James Nichols, Esq;	Nicholas Lechmere, Esq;
Westlow.	Joseph Musgrave, Esq;
John Trelawney, Esq;	Derbyshire.
Sir Charles Wager, Knt. Rear-Ad-	John Curzon, Esq;
miral of the Red.	Godfrey Clarke, Esq;
Grampound.	Derby.
Thomas Coke, Esq;	Edward Munday, Esq;
Andrew Quick, Esq;	Nathaniel Curzon, Esq;
Eastlow.	Devonshire.
Edward Jennings, Esq;	Sir William Courtenay, Bart. Lord
* Sir Charles Hedges, Knt.	Lieutenant of the County.

At the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Sir Coplestone Warwick Bampfild, Bart. <i>Exeter.</i>	<i>Dorchester.</i> Sir Nathaniel Napier, Bart.
John Rolle, Esq;	Henry Trenchard, Esq;
Francis Drew, Esq;	<i>Lyme-Regis.</i>
<i>Totness.</i>	Henry Henley, Esq;
Francis Gwyn, Esq; Secretary of War.	John Burridge, Esq;
Stephen Northleigh, Esq;	<i>Weymouth.</i>
<i>Plymouth.</i>	James Littleton, Esq;
Sir John Rogers, Bart.	Reginald Mariot, Esq;
Sir George Byng, Kt. one of the Lords of the Admiralty.	<i>Melcomb-Regis.</i>
<i>Okehampton.</i>	Sir Thomas Hardy, Kt. Rear Ad- miral of the Blue.
William Northmore, Esq;	William Harvey, Esq;
Christopher Harris, Esq;	<i>Bridport.</i>
<i>Barnstaple.</i>	William Coventry, Esq;
Sir Nicholas Hooper, Kt. a Serjeant at Law.	John Hoskins Gifford, Esq;
Sir Arthur Chichester, Bart.	<i>Shaftsbury.</i>
<i>Phympton.</i>	Edward Nicholas, Esq; Paymaster of his Majesty's Pensioners.
Richard Edgcombe, Esq;	Henry Whitaker, Esq;
George Treby, Esq;	<i>Wareham.</i>
<i>Honiton.</i>	Lieutenant-General Thomas Erle.
Sir William Drake, Kt. and Bart. one of the Lords of the Admiralty.	George Pitt, Esq;
James Shephard, Esq;	<i>Corfe-Castle.</i>
<i>Tavistock.</i>	* John Banks, Esq;
Sir John Cope, Kt.	* Richard Fownes, Esq;
James Bulteel, Esq;	<i>Durham County.</i>
<i>Asheburton.</i>	John Eden, Esq;
Roger Tuckfield, Esq;	John Hedworth, Esq;
* Richard Reynell, Esq;	<i>Durham.</i>
<i>Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardneß.</i>	Thomas Conyers, Esq;
John Foundes, Esq;	George Baker, Esq;
Frederick Herne, Esq;	<i>Giller.</i>
<i>Boraston.</i>	Sir Richard Child, Bart.
Sir Peter King, Kt. Recorder of London.	Sir Charles Barrington, Bart.
Lawrence Carter, Esq;	<i>Colchester.</i>
<i>Tiverton.</i>	William Gore, Esq;
John Worth, Esq;	Nicholas Corfelli, Esq;
Sir Edward Northey, Esq;	<i>Malden.</i>
<i>Dorsetshire.</i>	John Comyns, Esq; Serjeant at Law.
Thomas Strangeways, Esq;	Thomas Bramston, Esq;
George Chaffin, Esq;	<i>Harwich.</i>
<i>Poole.</i>	Sir Thomas Davall, Bart.
Sir William Lewen, Kt.	Hon. Benedict Leonard Calvert, Esq;
George Trenchard, Esq;	<i>Gloucestershire.</i>
	Hon. John Berkeley, Esq;
	Thomas Stevens, Esq;

A LIST of the House of Commons,

Gloucester.

John Snell, *Esq;*
Charles Cox, *Esq;* a Welch Judge.

Cirencester.

Thomas Masters, *Esq;*
Benjamin Bathurst *Esq;*

Tewksbury.

William Dowdeswell, *Esq;*
Anthony Lechmere, *Esq;*

Herefordshire.

James Lord Viscount Scudamore, of
Ireland.

Sir Thomas Morgan, *Bart.*

Hereford.

Hon. James Bridges, *Esq;*
Thomas Foley, *Esq;* one of the Au-
ditors of the Imprest.

Leominster.

Edward Harley, *Esq;* one of the Au-
ditors of the Imprest.

Henry Gorges, *Esq;*
Weobly.

John Birch, *Esq;* Serjeant at Law.
Uvedale Price, *Esq;*

Hertfordshire.

Ralph Freeman, *Esq;*
Thomas Halsey, *Esq;*

St. Albans.

William Grimstone, *Esq;*
John Gape, *Esq;*

Hertford.

Charles Caesar, *Esq;* Treasurer of
the Navy.

Richard Gullstone, *Esq;*

Huntingdonshire.

Sir Matthew Dudley, *Bart.*

Robert Piggot, *Esq;*
Huntingdon.

Hon. Sidney Wortley Montagu,
Esq;

Edward Lord Hinchinbroke, only
Son of the Earl of Sandwich.

Kent.

Percival Hart, *Esq;*
Sir Edward Knatchbull, *Bart.*

Canterbury.

John Hardress, *Esq;*
Henry Lee, *Esq;* one of the Commis-
sioners of the Victualling-Office.

Rocheſter.

Sir John Leake, *Kt.* Rear-Admiral
of Great-Britain, and one of the
Lords of the Admiralty.

William Cage, *Esq;*

Maidſtone.

Sir Robert Marſham, *Bart.*

Sir Samuel Ongley, *Kt.*

Queenborough.

Col. Thomas King

Charles Fotherby, *Esq;*

Lantaſſhire.

Richard Shuttleworth, *Esq;*

John Bland, *Esq;*

Preſton.

Henry Fleetwood, *Esq;*

Edward Southwell, *Esq;* one of the
Clerks of the Privy-Council.

Lancaſter.

Robert Heytham, *Esq;*

William Heytham, *Esq;*

Newton.

John Ward, *Esq;* a Welch Judge.

Abraham Blackmore, *Esq;*

Wigan.

Sir Roger Bradhaigh, *Bart.*

George Kenion, *Esq;*

Clithern.

*Hon. Charles Stanley, *Esq.* His
Election declar'd void, but ordered
that no new Writ ſhould iſſue.

Thomas Liſter, *Esq;* one of the
Commiſſioners of publick Accounts.

Liverpool.

Sir Thomas Johnſon, *Kt.*

William Clayton, *Esq;*

Leiceſterſhire.

Sir Thomas Cave, *Bart.*

Sir Jeffery Palmer, *Bart.*

Leiceſter.

Sir George Beaumont, *Bart.* one of
the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

James Wintanley, *Esq;*

Lincolnſhire.

Peregrine Lord Willoughby, Heir
apparent of the Marquis of Lind-
ſey.

Sir Willoughby Hickman, *Bart.*

Lincoln

At the Accession of King GEORGE.

Lincoln.

Thomas Lister, Esq; one of the Commissioners of publick Accounts.

John Sibthorp Esq;

Boston.

Richard Wynn, Esq;

Henry Heron, Esq;

Grimby.

Arthur Moore, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade.

William Coatworth, Esq;

Stamford.

Hon. Charles Cecil, Esq;

Charles Bertie Esq;

Grantham.

Sir John Thorold, Bart.

Sir John Brownlow, Bart.

Middlesex.

Hon. James Bertie, Esq.

Hugh Smithson, Esq;

Westminster.

Thomas Medicot, Esq;

Sir Thomas Cross, Bart.

London.

Sir William Withers, Kt.

Sir Richard Hoare, Kt.

Sir John Cals, Kt.

* Sir George Newland, Kt.

Dorsetshire.

John Morgan, Esq;

Sir Charles Kemys, Bart.

Monmouth.

Clayton Milbourne, Esq;

Dorset.

Sir Edmond Bacon, Bart.

Sir Jacob Astley, Bart. one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

Norwich.

Robert Bene, Esq;

Richard Berney, Esq;

Lyn Regis.

Sir Charles Turner, Kt.

Robert Walpole, Esq;

Great Yarmouth.

Richard Ferrier, Esq;

George England, Esq;

Thetford.

Sir William Barker Bart.

Dudley North Esq;

Castlerising.

Hon. William Fielding Esq;

Horatio Walpole Esq;

Northamptonshire.

Sir Justinian Isham, Bart.

Thomas Cartwright, Esq;

Peterborough.

Hon. John Fitz-Williams Esq;

Heir Apparent of the Lord Fitz-Williams.

Charles Parker, Esq;

Northampton.

William Wykes Esq;

Hon. George Montague, Esq;

Brackley.

Henry Watkins, Esq; Secretary to the Duke of Ormond.

John Burgh, Esq;

Higham Ferrers.

Hon. Charles Leigh, Esq;

Northumberland.

Algernoon Earl of Hertford, Heir apparent to the Duke of Somerset, Governor of Tinnmouth Fort.

Thomas Forster, Esq;

Newcastle upon Tyne.

Sir William Blacket, Bart.

William Wrightson, Esq;

Morpeth.

Sir John Germaine, Kt. and Bart.

Oley Douglas, Esq;

Berwick upon Tweed.

William Orde, Esq;

Richard Hampden, Esq;

Nottinghamshire.

Hon. Francis Willoughby, Esq;

William Levinz, Esq;

Nottingham.

Borlace Warren, Esq;

* Robert Sacheverell, Esq;

East Retford.

John Digby, Esq;

Francis Lewis, Esq;

Newark

A LIST of the House of COMMONS,

Newark upon Trent.

Richard Newdigate, Esq; Brigadier General.

Richard Sutton.

Oxfordshire.

Sir Robert Jenkinson, Bart.

Francis Clerke, Esq;

Univerfity of Oxford.

Sir William Whitlock Bart. one of her Majesty's Council at Law.

William Bromley, Esq; one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Oxford.

Sir John Walter, Bart. one of the Clerks Comptrollers of the Green-cloth.

Thomas Rowney Esq;

New Woodstock.

Sir Thomas Wheat, Bart.

Lieutenant General Cadogan.

Banbury.

Sir Jonathan Cope Bart.

Rutlandshire.

Daniel Lord Finch, Heir apparent to the Earl of Nottingham.

Bennet Lord Sherrard of Ireland.

Shropshire.

John Kynaſton, Esq;

Henry Viſcount Newport, Heir apparent to the Earl of Bradford.

Sbrevsburſy.

Edward Crefſet, Esq;

Corbet Kynaſton, Esq;

Bridgnorth.

William Whitmore, Esq;

John Weaver, Esq;

Ludlow.

Aſton Baldwin, Esq;

Humphry Walcot, Esq;

Great Wenlock.

Sir William Foreſter Kt. one of the Clerks of the Greencloth.

Hon. Richard Newport Esq;

Biſhop's Caſtle.

Sir Robert Raymond Kt. her Ma-
jeſty's Solicitor General.

Richard Harnage, Esq;

Somerſetſhire.

Sir William Wyndham, Bart. Chan-
cellor of the Exchequer.

Thomas Horner, Esq

Bristol.

Thomas Edwards, Esq;

Joſeph Earle, Esq;

Bath.

Samuel Trotman, Esq;

John Coddington, Esq;

Wells.

Maurice Berkley, Esq;

Sir Thomas Wroth, Bart.

Taunton.

Sir Francis Warre, Bart.

Henry Portman, Esq;

Bridge-water.

Nathaniel Palmer, Esq;

John Rolle, Esq;

Minehead.

Sir John Trevelyan, Bart.

Sir Jacob Banks, Kt.

Iſcheſter.

Edward Phillips, Esq; Comptroller of
the Mint.

Sir James Bateman, Kt.

Milbourn-Port.

Sir Thomas Travell, Kt.

James Medlycot, Esq; one of the
Maſters in Chancery.

County of Southampton.

Thomas Lewis, Esq;

Sir Anthony Sturt, Kt.

Wincheſter.

John Popham Esq;.

George Bridges, Esq;

Southampton.

Richard Fleming, Esq;

Roger Harris, Esq;

Portſmouth.

Sir Thomas Mackworth, Bart.

Sir James Withart, Kt. one of the
Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

Yarmouth.

Henry Holmes, Esq;

Sir Gilbert Dolben, Bart.

Petersfield.

Leonard Billon, Esq;

Norton Paulett Esq;

Newport.

At the Accession of King GEORGE I.

<i>Newport</i> Lieutenant General John Webb, Governor of the Isle of Wight: William Stephens Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualling Office.	<i>Ipswich.</i> * Richard Richardson, Esq; Serjeant at Law. Orlando Bridgman, Esq; <i>Dunwich.</i> Sir George Downing, Bart. Sir Robert Kemp, Bart.
<i>Stockbridge.</i> Thomas Broderick, Esq; James Earl of Barrymore of Ireland. <i>New-Town.</i> James Worley, Esq; made Wood- ward of the New Forest. Henry Worley, Esq; <i>Christ-Church.</i> William Ettricke, Esq; Solicitor to the Admiralty. Sir Peter Mews, Knt. Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester.	<i>Oxford.</i> Sir Edward Turner, Knt. Clement Corraige, Esq; <i>Adborough.</i> Sir Henry Johnson, Knt. William Johnson, Esq; <i>Sudbury.</i> Sir Harwey Blwets, Bart. Hon. Robert Echlin, Esq; Lieutenant General of her Majesty's Army. <i>Eye.</i> Edward Hopkins, Esq; Thomas Maynard, Esq; <i>St. Edmunds-Bury.</i> Aubrie Porter, Esq; Hon. Carr Hervey, Esq; Heir Ap- parent of the Lord Hervey.
<i>Lymington.</i> Lord William Paulet. Sir Joseph Jekyll, Knt. <i>Whitchurch.</i> Frederick Tilney, Esq; Thomas Vernon, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade. <i>Andover.</i> William Guidott, Esq; Gilbert Serle, Esq; <i>Staffordshire.</i> Ralph Sneyd, Esq; Henry Vernon, Esq; <i>Litchfield.</i> Richard Dyot, Esq; John Cotes, Esq; <i>Stafford.</i> Walter Chetwynd, Esq; Henry Vernon, Esq; <i>Newcastle under Line.</i> Rowland Cotton, Esq; William Burslem, Esq; <i>Tamworth.</i> Joseph Girdler, Esq; Serjeant at Law. Samuel Bracebridge, Esq; <i>Suffolk.</i> Hon. Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. SPEAKER. Sir Robert Davers, Bart.	<i>Surry.</i> Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. Heneage Lord Guernsey, Heir Ap- parent to the Earl of Aylesford. <i>Southwark.</i> John Lade, Esq; Fisher Tench, Esq; <i>Blechingh.</i> George Evelyn, Esq; Thomas Onslow, Esq; <i>Rygate.</i> Sir John Parsons, Knt. James Cocks, Esq; <i>Guilford.</i> Morgan Randyll, Esq; Denzill Onslow, Esq; <i>Gatton.</i> William Newland, Esq; Paul Doeminique, Esq; <i>Hastlemere.</i> George Vernon, Esq; Nicholas Carew, Esq; <i>Sussex.</i> Henry Campion, Esq; John Fuller, Esq; <i>Chichester.</i>

A List of the House of Commons,

Chichester.

William Elton, *Esq;*
Hon. James Brudenell, *Esq;*
Horsbam.
 Charles Eversfield, *Esq;*
 John Middleton, *Esq;*
Midhurst.
 William Knight, *Esq;*
 John Pratt, *Esq;* *Serjeant at Law.*
Lewes.

Thomas Pelham, *Esq;*
 John Morley Trevor, *Esq;*
New Shoreham.

Francis Chamberlain, *Esq;*
 Nathaniel Gould, *Esq;*
Bramber.

Francis Lord Duncannon of Ireland.
Hon. Andrew Windfor, *Esq;*
Steyning.

Sir Harry Goring, *Bart.*
 William Wallis *Esq;*
East Grinstead.

John Conyers *Esq;*
Hon. Spencer Compton, *Esq;*
Arundel.

Richard Lord Lumley, *Heir apparent to the Earl of Scarborough.*
 Henry Earl of Thomond of Ireland.
Warwickshire.

Sir John Mordaunt, *Bart.*
 Andrew Archer *Esq;*
Coventry.

Sir Christopher Hales, *Bart.*
 Sir Fulwar Skipwith, *Bart.*
Warwick.

Hon. Dodington Greville, *Esq;*
 William Colemore, *Esq;*
Westmorland.

Hon. James Grahme, *Esq;*
 Daniel Wilson, *Esq;*
Apulby.

Sir Richard Sandford, *Bart.*
 Thomas Lutwyche, *Esq;* *one of her Majesty's Council learned in the Law.*

Wiltshire.
 Sir Richard How, *Bart.*
 Robert Hide, *Esq;*

New Sarum.

Richard Jones, *Esq;*
 Sir Stephen Fox, *Kt.*
Wilton.

John London, *Esq;*
 Thomas Pit, *Jun. Esq;*
Downeton.

John Sayer, *Esq;*
 John Eyre *Esq;*

Hindon.
 Reynolds Calthorpe, *Jun. Esq;*
 Richard Lockwood, *Esq;*
Heytesbury.

Edward Ashe, *Esq;*
 Pierce a Court, *Esq;*
Westbury.

Hon. Henry Bertie, *Esq;*
 Francis Annesley, *Esq;* *one of the Commissioners of publick Accounts.*
Calne.

William Hedges, *Esq;*
 William Northey, *Esq;*
Devizes.

John Nicholas, *Esq;*
 Sir Robert Child, *Kt.*
Chippenham.

John Norris, *Esq;*
 John Eyles, *Esq;*
Malmesbury.

Joseph Addison, *Esq;*
 Sir John Rushout, *Bart.*
Cricklade.

Sir Thomas Read, *Bart.*
 Samuel Robinson, *Esq;*
Great Bedwin.

Sir Edward Seymour, *Bart.*
 Thomas Millington, *Esq;*
Lugershall.

John Ward, *Esq;*
 Robert Ferne, *Esq;*
Old Sarum.

Thomas Pitt, *Esq;*
 Robert Pitt, *Esq;*
Wotton Bassett.

Richard Creswell, *Esq;*
 Edmond Pleydel, *Esq;*

Marlborough.

At the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Marlborough.

Gabriel Roberts, *Esq;*

Hon. Robert Bruce, *Esq;*

Worcestershire.

Sir John Packington, *Bart.*

Samuel Pitts, *Esq;*

Worcester.

Samuel Swift, *Esq;*

Thomas Wyld, *Esq;*

Droitwich.

Richard Foley, *Esq;* one of the Prothonotaries of the Common Pleas.

Edward Jeffereys, *Esq;* a Welsh Judge.

Eversham.

Sir Edward Goodere, *Bart.*

John Rudge, *Esq;*

Bewdly.

Salway Winington, *Esq;*

Yorkshire.

Henry Lord Viscount Down of Ireland.

Sir Arthur Kaye, *Bart.*

York.

Sir William Robinson, *Bart.*

Robert Fairfax, *Esq;*

Kingslon upon Hull.

Sir William St. Quintin, *Bart.*

William Maister, *Esq;*

Knaresborough.

Henry Slingsby, *Esq;*

Francis Fawkes, *Esq;*

Scarborough.

William Thompson, *Esq;*

John Hungerford, *Esq;* Curfitor of Yorkshire and Westmorland.

Rippon.

John Aislabe, *Esq;*

John Sharpe, *Esq;* one of the Commissioners of Trade.

Richmond.

John York, *Esq;*

Hon. Henry Mordaunt, *Esq;* Treasurer of the Ordnance.

Heydon.

William Pulteney, *Esq;*

Hugh Cholmely, *Esq;*

VOL. III.

Borough Bridge.

Sir Brian Stapylton, *Bart.*

Edmund Dunch, *Esq;*

Malton.

Hon. Thomas Wentworth, *Esq;*

William Strickland, *Esq;*

Thirsk.

Thomas Frankland, *Esq;*

Ralph Bell, *Esq;*

Aldborough.

Hon. John Dawney, *Esq;*

Paul Foley, *Esq;*

Beverley.

Sir Charles Hotham, *Bart.*

Sir Michael Warton, *Bart.*

Northallerton.

Henry Piers, *Esq;*

Leonard Smelt, *Esq;*

Pontefract.

Hon. John Dawney *Esq;*

Robert Frank, *Esq;*

The CINQUE PORTS.

Hastings.

Archibald Hutcheson, *Esq;*

Sir Joseph Martin, *Kt.*

Dover.

Sir William Hardrefs, *Bart.*

Philip Papillon, *Esq;*

Sandwich.

Sir Henry Oxenden, *Bart.*

John Mitchell, *Esq;*

Hyeth.

Jacob Des Bouvery, *Esq;*

John Boteler, *Esq;*

New Romney.

Sir Robert Furnese, *Bart.*

Edward Ld Viscount Sondes, Heir apparent to the Earl of Rockingham.

Rye.

Sir J. Norris, *Kt. Admiral of the Blue.*

Philip Gibbon, *Esq;*

Winchelsea.

George Doddington, *Esq;*

Robert Bristow *Esq;*

B

A List of the House of Commons,

Seaford.

William Lowndes, *Esq; Secretary
of the Treasury.*
George Naylor *Esq;*

W A L E S.

Anglesea.

Richard Lord Viscount Bulkeley of
Ireland.

Beaumaris.

Hon. Henry Bertie, *Esq;*

Brecon.

Sir Edward Williams *Bart.*

Town of Brecon.

Roger Jones, *Esq;*

Cardigan.

Thomas Jones, *Esq;*

Town of Cardigan.

Sir George Barlow, *Bart.*

Carmarthen.

Sir Thomas Powel, *Bart.*

Town of Carmarthen.

Richard Vaughan, *Esq;*

Carnarban.

William Griffith, *Esq;*

Town of Carnarvan.

Thomas Wynne, *Esq;*

Denbigh.

Sir Richard Middleton, *Esq;*

Town of Denbigh.

John Wynne, *Esq;*

Flint.

Sir John Conway, *Bart.*

Town of Flint.

Sir Roger Moltyn, *Bart. Pay-master
of the Marines.*

Glamorgan.

Robert Jones, *Esq;*

Town of Cardiffe.

Sir Edward Stradling, *Bart.*

Merioneth.

Richard Vaughan, *Esq;*

Montgomery.

Edward Vaughan, *Esq;*

Town of Montgomery.

John Pugh, *Esq;*

Pembroke.

John Barlow, *Esq;*

Town of Pembroke.

Lewis Wogan, *Esq;*

Town of Haverford-West.

John Laugharne, *Esq;*

Radnor.

Thomas Harley, *Esq;*

Town of New Radnor.

Edward Lord Harley, *Heir apparent
of the Earl of Oxford.*

SCOTLAND.

Shire of Aberdeen.

Sir Alexander Cumming, *Kt.*

Shire of Air.

John Montgomery, *Esq;*

Shire of Argyle.

Sir James Campbell, *Bart.*

Shire of Bamff.

* Alexander Abercromby, *Esq;*

Shire of Berwick.

George Bailie, *Esq;*

Shires Bute and Cathnes.

John Campbell, *jun. Esq;*

Shires Nairn and Cromartie.

John Forbes, *Esq;*

Shire of Dumbarton.

Hon. John Campbell, *Esq;*

Shire of Dumfries.

Sir William Johnston, *Bart.*

Shire of Edinburgh.

George Lockhart, *Esq;*

Shire of Elgin.

Alexander Grant, *Esq;*

Shire of Fife.

Sir Alexander Areskine, *Bart. Lyon
King at Arms.*

Shire of Forfar.

John Carnegie, *Esq;*

Shire of Haddington.

John Cockburn, *Esq;*

Shire of Inverness.

Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, *Esq;*

Shire of Kincardin.

James Scott, *Esq;*

Shires

At the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Shires of Kinross and Clackmannan.
Sir John Areskine, Bart.

Stewartry of Kirkeudbright.
Sir John Stewart, Bart.

Shire of Lanerk.
Sir James Hamilton, Bart.

Shire of Linlithgow.
John Howison, Esq;
Shire of Orkney and Zetland.

Hon. Col. George Douglas.
Shire of Peebles.
William Morrison, Esq;
Shire of Perth.

James Lord Murray.
Shire of Renfrew.
Sir Robert Pollock, Bart.

Shire of Ross.

Lieutenant-General Charles Ross.

Shire of Roxburgh.

Sir Gilbert Eliot, Bart.

Shire of Selkirk.

John Pringle, Esq;

Shire of Stirling.

Sir Hugh Paterson, Kt. and Bart.

Shire of Sutherland.

William Morrison, Esq;

Shire of Wigtoun.

Hon. John Stuart, Esq;

City of Edinburgh.

Sir James Stewart of Goodrees, Bart.

Solicitor for Scotland.

Burghs of { *Kirkwall*
Week
Dornock
Dingwall
Taine } *Robert Monro, Esq;*

Burghs of { *Fortrose*
Inverness
Nairn
Forres } *William Stewart, Esq;*

Burghs of { *Elgin*
Cullen
Bamff
Inverary
Kintore } *Hon. James Murray, Esq;*

Burghs of { *Aberdeen*
Inverbervy
Montrose
Aberbrothock
Brichene } *John Middleton, Esq;*

Burghs of { *Forfar*
Perth
Dundee
Coupar
St. Andrews } *George Yeaman, Esq;*

Burghs of { *Craill*
Kilrennie
Anstruther Easter
Anstruther Wester
Pettenweem } *Sir John Anstruther, Bart.*

A LIST of the House of Commons,

<i>Burghs</i> of	Dyfert Kirkaldie Kinghorne Bruntsland Innerkithen	James Oswald, Esq;
<i>Burghs</i> of	Dunfermline Queensferry Culcross Stirling Glasgow	Henry Cunningham, Esq;
<i>Burghs</i> of	Renfrew Ruglen Dumbarton Haddington Dunbarr	Thomas Smith, Esq;
<i>Burghs</i> of	North Berwick Lauder Jedburgh Selkirk	Sir David Dalrymple, Bart.
<i>Burghs</i> of	Peebles Linlithgow Lanerk Dumfries Sanquhar	Sir James Carmichael, Bart.
<i>Burghs</i> of	Annan Locknaben Kirkeudbright Wigtoun	Sir William Johnston, Bart.
<i>Burghs</i> of	New Galloway Stranraer Whitehorn Air Irvin	Sir Alexander Maxwell, Bart.
<i>Burghs</i> of	Rothsay Campbeltoun Inverary	Charles Oliphant, M. D.

L I S T

OF THE

Knights and Commissioners of Shires, Citizens and Burgesſies, of the first Parliament of King GEORGE I.

Bedfordſhire
William Hillerſden, *Eſq;*
John Hervey, *Eſq;* not duly
electd. In his Place
John Cater, *Eſq;*
Bedford.

William Farrer, *Eſq;* made Maſter
of St. Catharine's near the Tower,
and rechoſe.

John Thurloe Brace, *Eſq;*
Berkſhire.

Sir John Stonehouſe, *Bart.*

Robert Packer, *Eſq;*
New Windſor.

Chriſtopher Wren, *Eſq;* } not duly e-
Robert Gayer, *Eſq;* } lectd. In
their Places

Sir Henry Alhurſt, *Bart.*

Samuel Travers, *Eſq;* Auditor to the
Prince, and Clerk to the King's
Works.

Reading.
Felix Calvert, *Eſq;* } declar'd a
Robert Clayes, *Eſq;* } void Election.
Hon. Charles Cadogan, *Eſq;*
Owen Buckingham, made a Commiſ-
ſioner of the Viſtualling-Office, and
rechoſe. Deceas'd. In his Place
Richard Thompſon, *Eſq;*
Wallingford.

William Hucks, *Eſq;* Brewer to
his Maſteſty's Houſhold.

Edmund Dunch, *Eſq;* Maſter of his
Maſteſty's Houſhold. Deceas'd. In
his Place

Henry Grey Neville, *Eſq;*
Abington.

James Jennings, *Eſq;*
Bucks.

John Fleetwood, *Eſq;*

Richard Hampden, *Eſq;* made one of
the Tellers of the Exchequer, and
rechoſe; then Treasuſer of the Na-
vy, and rechoſe.

Buckingham.
Alexander Denton, *Eſq;* Attorney-
General of the Dutchy of Lancaſter.
Abraham Stanyan, *Eſq;* made one of
the Clerks of the Council, and Am-
baſſador to the Ottoman Porte. In
his Place

Edmund Haſſey, *Eſq;*
Chipping-Wicomb.

Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*

Sir John Wittewrong, *Bart.* deceas'd,
In his Place

John Neale, *Eſq;*
Ailesbury.

Sir Nathaniel Mead, Serjeant at Law.
Trevor Hill, *Eſq;* created Lord Viſ-
count Hillsborough of Ireland.
Agmondesham.

Montague Gerrard Drake, *Eſq;*
John Verney, Lord Viſcount Fernan-
nah.

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

nah, of Ireland, deceased. In his Place	Leſtwithſiel.
Hon. Ralph Verney, Esq; his Son, Wenderover.	Thomas Liddell, Esq; deceased. In his Place
Sir Roger Hill, Knt.	Edward Eliot, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office, and since made one of the Commissioners of the Excise. [See Vol. I. p. 246.] In his Place
Richard Grenville, Esq; Great-Marlow.	John Newſham, Esq; [See Vol. I. p. 244.]
George Bruere, Esq;	Galfridus Walpole, Esq; Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, made one of the Post-Masters-General. In his Place
Henry Petty, Baron Shelburne of Ireland.	William Cavendiſh, Marquis of Hartington, Heir Apparent of the Duke of Devonſhire.
Cambridgeſhire.	Truroe.
John Jennings, Esq; deceased. In his Place	Spencer Cowper, Esq; made Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, and rechoſe.
Sir Robert Clark, Bart.	Colonel John Selwyn, Clerk of the Green-Cloth to the Prince, made Receiver-General and Caſhier of his Maſeſty's Cuſtoms. In his Place
John Bromley, Esq; deceased. In his Place	Thomas Wyndham, Esq;
Sir Francis Whichcot of Qui, Bart. made one of the Commissioners for ſtating the Debts due to the Army. University of Cambridge.	Bodmin.
Hon. Dixie Windſor, Esq;	John Leigh, Esq;
Thomas Paſke, L. L. D. deceased. In his Place	Hon. Francis Robartes, Esq; one of the Commissioners for the Revenue in Ireland, deceased. In his Place
Hon. Thomas Willoughby, Esq; Town of Cambridge.	Charles Beauclair, Earl of Burford, Heir Apparent of the Duke of St. Albans.
Sir John Hynde Cotton, Bart.	Heſſon.
Thomas Sclater Bacon, Esq; not duly elected. In his Place	Sir Gilbert Heathcot, Knt. Alderman of London.
Samuel Sheppard, Esq; Cheſhire.	Sidney Goldolphin, Esq; Auditor for the Principality of Wales, and Governor of the Iſland of Scilly.
Sir George Warburton, Bart.	Saltoſb.
Hon. Langham Booth, Esq; ſecond Brother to the Earl of Warrington. Cheſter.	Shilſton Calmady, Esq;
Sir Henry Bunbury, Bart.	John Francis Buller, Esq;
Sir Richard Groſvenor, Bart. Cornwall.	Camelford.
Sir William Carew, Bart.	Richard Coffin, Esq;
John Trevanion, Esq; Launceſton.	James Mountague, Esq;
John Anſtis, Esq; made Garter Principal King of Arms, and rechoſe. [See Vol. I. p. 42.]	Weflow.
Edward Herle, Esq; deceased. In his Place	Thomas Maynard, Esq; made Com-miſſary-General of the Stores of War in Minorca, and rechoſe.
Alexander Pendarves, Esq; Leſtard.	George
Philip Raſhleigh, Esq;	
Sir John Trelawney, Bart.	

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

- George Delaval, Rear-Admiral of
his Majesty's Fleet.
Grampound.
- Hon. John West, Esq; Heir Apparent
of the Lord Delawar, Lieutenant-
Colonel of the first Troop of Horse-
Guards, and one of the Clerks of
the Council in Extraordinary.
- Sir Charles Cook, Knt. Alderman of
London, and one of the Commis-
sioners of Trade and Plantations, de-
ceased. In his Place
- Richard West, Esq; one of his Maje-
sty's Council at Law.
Eastlow.
- John Smith, Esq; one of the Tellers
of the Exchequer, P. C.
- Sir James Bateman, Knt. Alderman
of London, deceased. In his Place
- Horatio Walpole, Esq; Auditor of
the Trade and Plantation Accounts.
Penryn.
- Samuel Trefusis, Esq; [See Vol. I.
p. 244.]
- Hugh Bolcawen, Esq; made one of
the Vice-Treasurers and Pay-Mas-
ters General of Ireland, and re-
chose. P. C. created Lord Viscount
Falmouth. In his Place
- William Godolphin, Lord Viscount
Rialton, Heir Apparent to the Earl
of Godolphin.
Tregomy.
- Sir Edmund Prideaux, Bart. deceased.
In his Place
- Charles Talbot, Esq; eldest Son of the
Bishop of Durham.
- James Craiggs, Jun. Esq; made Se-
cretary at War, and rechose; then
one of his Majesty's Principal Secre-
taries of State, and rechose, P. C.
deceased. In his Place
- Daniel Pulteney, Esq; one of the
Commissioners of Trade and Planta-
tions, made one of the Lords of the
Admiralty. In his Place
- John Merril, Esq;
Bossiney.
- Samuel Molineux, Esq; Secretary to
- the Prince.
- Henry Cartwright, Esq; made one of
the Commissioners of the Victualling-
Office, and rechose.
St. Ives.
- Lord Harry Paulet, Brother of the
Duke of Bolton.
- Sir John Hobart, Bart. made one of
the Commissioners of Trade and
Plantations, and rechose.
Forwey.
- Johnathan Elford, Esq;
- Henry Vincent, Esq; one of the Com-
missioners of the Victualling-Office,
deceased. In his Place
- Nicholas Vincent, Esq;
St. Germans.
- John Knight, Esq; made Secretary
of the Leeward Islands, and re-
chose.
- Philip Lord Stanhope, Heir Apparent
of the Earl of Chesterfield, one of
the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to
the Prince.
St. Michael.
- Nathaniel Blakiston, Esq;
- Robert Moleworth, Esq; created
Ld. Viscount Moleworth of Ireland.
Newport.
- Sir Nicholas Morrice, Bart.
- Humphrey Morrice, Esq;
St. Marks.
- William Lownds, Esq; Secretary to
the Treasury.
- John Chetwynd, Esq; second Brother
of the Lord Viscount Chetwynd, one
of the Commissioners of Trade and
Plantations.
Kellington.
- Sir John Coryton, Bart.
- Samuel Rolle, Esq; deceased. In his
Place
- Thomas Copleston, Esq;
Cumberland.
- James Lowther, Esq;
- Gilfrid Lawfon, Esq;
Carlisle.
- William Strickland, Esq;
- Major-

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

Major-General Thomas Stanwix,
Governor of Chelsea-College, made
Governour of Kingston upon Hull.

In his Place

Henry Aglionby, Esq;

Cockermouth.

James Stanhope, Esq; made first
Commissioner of the Treasury. In
his Place.

Sir Thomas Pengelly, Kt. his Ma-
jesty's Premier Serjeant at Law.

Nicholas Lechmere, Esq; made
Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lanca-
ster for Life. In his Place

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart. } Do. Re.

Lord Piercy Seymore, de- } The for-
ceased. In his Place } mer dis-
allowed.

Hon. Anthony Lowther, Esq;

Derbyshire.

Sir John Curzon, Bart.

Godfrey Clarke, Esq;

Derby.

Lord James Cavendish, only Brother
to the Duke of Devonshire.

Hon. William Stanhope, Esq; Am-
bassador Extraordinary to the
Court of Spain.

Devonshire.

Sir William Courtenay, Bart.

Sir Coplestone-Warwick Bampfild,
Bart.

Exeter.

John Bampfild Esq;

Francis Drew, Esq;

Totness.

Stephen Northleigh Esq;

Arthur Champernoon, Esq; deceased.

In his Place

Sir John Jermain, Kt. and Bart. de-
ceased. In his Place

Charles Wills, Esq; made Lieutenant-
General of the Ordnance, and
rechose. P. C.

Plymouth.

Sir John Rogers, Bart

Sir George Bing, Kt. and Bart. Ad-
miral of the White, and Commān-

der in Chief of his Majesty's Fleet;
made also Treasurer of his Navy,
and rechose; P. C. created since
Lord Viscount Torrington. In his
Place

Hon. Pattee Bing, Esq; Heir apparent
of the said Lord Torrington.

Okehampton.

William Northmore, Jun. Esq;

Christopher Harris, Esq;

Barnstable.

John Rolle, Esq;

Sir Arthur Chichester, Bart. decaas-
ed. In his Place

John Basslet, Esq; decaas'd. In his
Place

Sir Hugh Ackland, Bart.

Plympton.

Richard Edgcomb, Esq, made one of
the Commissioners of the Treasury,
and rechose; then resign'd. And a-
gain a second time one of the said
Commissioners, and rechose.

George Treby, Esq; made Secretary
at War, and rechose.

Honiton.

William Vonge, Esq; made one of the
Commissioners for stating the Debts
due to the Army.

Sir William Pole, Bart.

Tarvisstock.

Sir John Cope, Kt. and Bart.

Sir Francis-Henry Drake, Bart.

Ashburton.

Roger Tuckfield, Esq;

Richard Reynell, Esq;

Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardnesf.

John Foundes, Jun. Esq;

Joseph Herne, Esq;

Bor-Alston.

Lawrence Carter, Esq; made one of
his Majesty's Council at Law, and
rechose; then Attorney-General to
the Prince.

Horatio Walpole, Esq; made Audi-
tor of the Trade and Plantation Ac-
counts. In his Place

Hon. Edward Carteret, Esq; made one
of

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

of the Post-Masters General. In his Place	Shafesbury.
Philip Cavendish, Esq; Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, not duly elected. In his Place [See Vol. I. p. 246.]	Edward Nicholas, Esq; } not duly Samuel Rush, Esq; } elected.
St. John Brodrick, Esq; Heir apparent of the Lord Viscount Brodrick of Ireland.	In their Places
	Edward Nicholas, Esq; rechose.
	William Benfon, Esq; made his Majesty's Surveyor-General; not duly re-elected. In his Place
	Sir Edward Desbouverie, Bart.
Tiverton.	Wareham.
Sir Edward Northey, Kt.	Lieutenant-General Thomas Erle,
Thomas Bere, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office.	Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and Governor of Portsmouth, since deceased, chose in his Place, for accepting a Pension from the Crown during Pleasure,
Hampshire.	Henry Drax, Esq;
Thomas Strangeways, Esq;	George Pitt, jun. Esq;
George Chaffin, Esq;	Corse-Castle.
Pool.	Dennis Bond, Esq; Letter-Carrier to the Government, and a Commissioner for the forfeited Estates.
Sir William Lewen, Kt. Alderman of London.	William Okeden, Esq; deceased. In his Place
George Trenchard, Esq;	John Banks, Esq;
Dorchester.	Joshua Churchill, Esq; } D. R. The former
Sir Nathaniel Napier, Bart.	made one of the Commissioners of the Victualling Office, and re-chose, dec. In his Place
Henry Trenchard, Esq; deceased.	taken off the File.
In his Place	John Bond, Esq;
Robert Browne, jun. Esq; not duly elected. In his Place	Durham County.
Abraham Janssen, Esq;	Sir John Eden, Bart.
Lyme-Regis.	John Hedworth, Esq;
John Henly, Esq;	Durham.
John Burridge, jun. Esq;	Thomas Conyers, Esq;
Weymouth.	George Baker, Esq;
Daniel Harvey, Esq; Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Forces, and Governor of the Island of Guernsey.	Essex.
John Baker, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, deceased. In his Place	Sir Richard Child, Bart. created Lord Viscount Castlemain of Ireland.
Edward Harrison, Esq;	Thomas Middleton, Esq; deceased.
Melcomb-Regis.	In his Place
William Betts, Esq;	William Harvey, Esq; not duly elected.
Thomas Littleton, Esq;	In his Place
Bridport.	Robert Honeywood, Esq;
William Coventry, Esq; made one of the Clerks-Comptrollers of the Green-cloth, and rechose; then became Earl of Coventry. In his Place	Colchester.
Sir Dewy Bulkeley, Kt.	Sir Isaac Rebow, Kt.
John Strangeways, Esq; not duly elected. In his Place chosen	Richard Ducane, Esq;
Peter Walter, Esq;	C
	Malden.

A List of the first House of Commons,

Malden.

Thomas Bramston, *Esq;*
John Comyns, *Esq;* *Serjeant at Law, not duly elected. In his Place*
Samuel Tuffnel, *Esq;* *one of the Commissioners of the Equivalent.*

Harwich.

Thomas Heath, *Esq;*
Sir Philip Parker, *Bart.*

Gloucestershire.

Thomas Stephens, *Esq;* *deceased. In his Place*

Hon. Henry Berkeley, *Esq;* *second Brother of the Earl of Berkley.*

Matthew Ducie Moreton, *Esq;*
made one of the Vice-Treasurers and Paymasters General of Ireland, and re-chose; created since Baron Ducie de Moreton. In his Place

Edmond Bray, *Esq;*
Gloucester.

John Snell, *Esq;*
Charles Cox, *Esq;*
Cirencester.

Thomas Maisters, *Esq;*
Benjamin Bathurst, *Esq;* *youngest Brother to the Lord Bathurst.*

Twickenbury.

William Dowdellwell, *Esq;*
Anthony Lechmere, *Esq;* *made Receiver-General of the Customs; and since deceased. In his Place*

Nicholas Lechmere, *Esq;* *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, made his Majesty's Attorney-General, and re-chose; created Baron Lechmere of Evesham. In his Place chose*

Thomas Gage, *Esq;* *Lord Viscount Gage of Ireland.*

Worcestershire.

Richard Hopton, *Esq;*
Sir Thomas Morgan, *Bart. dec. In his Place*

Sir Hungerford Hoskins, *Bart.*

Hereford.

Thomas Foley, *Esq;* *one of the Auditors of the Imprest.*

James Scudamore, *Lord Viscount Scudamore of Ireland, dec. In his Place*

Herbert Rudhal Westfaling, *Esq;*
made one of the Commissioners for stating the Debts due to the Army. Leominster.

Edward Harley, *Esq;* *one of the Auditors of the Imprest.*

Thomas Coningsby, *Lord Coningsby of Ireland; created a Peer of Great-Britain. In his Place chose*

Sir George Caswall, *Kt. not duly elected, but afterwards re-chose; expell'd the House, and committed to the Tower. [See Vol. I. p. 237.] In his Place*

William Bateman, *Esq;*
Woolly.

Charles Cornwall, *Esq;* *Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Comptroller of the Stores of the Navy, dec. In his Place*

Nicholas Philpot, *Esq;*
Paul Foley, *Esq;* *not duly elected. In his Place*

John Birch, *Esq;* *Serjeant at Law, and one of the Commissioners for the forfeited Estates.*

Worcestershire.

Sir Thomas Saunders Sebright, *Bart.*
Ralph Freeman, *Esq;*

St. Albans.

William Grimstone, *Esq;* *created Lord-Viscount Grimstone of Ireland.*

William Hale, *Esq;* *dec. In his Place*
Joshua Lomax, *Esq;*

Hertford.

Charles Caesar, *Esq;* } *not duly*
Richard Gulton, *Esq;* } *electd.*
In their Places

Sir Thomas Clerke, *Kt.*
John Boteler, *one of the Commissioners of the Equivalent.*

Huntingdonshire.

Robert Piggot, *Esq;*
John Bigg, *Esq;*

Hun-

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Huntingdon.

Hon. Sidney Wortley Montagu, Esq;
Edward Lord Hinchinbroke, only
Son of the Earl of Sandwich, Col.
of Foot, Lord-Lieutenant and Jus-
tus Rotulorum of the County of
Huntingdon.

Kent.

William Delaune, Esq;
Hon. Mildmay Fane, Esq; youngest
Brother of the Earl of Westmor-
land, deceased. In his Place
Hon. John Fane, Esq; Colonel of the
first Troops of Grenadier-Guards.
Canterbury.

John Hardres, Esq;
Sir Thomas Hales, Bart. one of the
Commissioners for the forfeited Estates.
Rochester.

Sir Thomas Palmer, Bart.
Sir John Jennings, Kt. Admiral of
the White, made one of the Com-
missioners of the Admiralty, and
rechose; then Master of Green-
wich Hospital, and rechose.
Maidstone.

Sir Thomas Colepeper, Bart.
Sir Robert Marham, Bart. created
Lord Romney. In his Place
Sir Barnham Rider, Kt.

Queenborough.
Col. Thomas King, Lieutenant-Gov-
ernor of Sheerness.
Philip Jennings, Esq;

Lancashire.
Sir John Bland, Bart.
Richard Shuttleworth, Esq;

Preston.
Henry Fleetwood, Esq;
Sir Henry Houghton, Bart. one of
the Commissioners of the forfeited
Estates.

Lancaster.
Doddington Braddyl, Esq;
William Heysham, Esq; deceased.
In his Place chose
William Heysham, Esq; one of the
Six Clerks in Chancery.

Newton.

Sir Francis Leicester, Bart.
William Shippen, Esq;
Wigan.
Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Bart.
James Barry, Earl of Barrimore, of
Ireland.

Clithero.

Thomas Lister, Esq;
Edward Harvey, Esq; See } D. R.
Vol. I. p. 42.
Thomas Parker, Esq;
Mr. Parker declined his Election,
and his Name was razed out of
the Return.

Liverpool.

Sir Thomas Johnson, Kt.
Edward Norris, Esq;
Leicestershire.

Sir Jeffery Palmer, Bart.
Sir Thomas Cave, Bart. deceased.
In his Place
Lord William Manners, second Bro-
ther of the Duke of Rutland.

Leicester.

Sir George Beaumont, Bart.
James Winstanley, Esq; dec. In his
Place
Thomas Noble, Esq;

Lincolnshire.

Sir John Brownlow, Bart. created
Lord Viscount Tyrconnel of Ire-
land.

Sir Willoughby Hickman, Bart. de-
ceased. In his Place

Sir William Maffingbeard, Bart.
Lincoln.

Sir John Tirwit, Bart.
Richard Grantham, Esq; one of the
Commissioners for the forfeited Es-
tates.

Boston.

Henry Heron, Esq;
Richard Wynn, Esq; deceased. In
his Place
Richard Ellis, Esq;

A List of the first House of Commons,

Great Grimby.

Joseph Banks, Esq;

Sir Robert Chaplin, Bart. expelled the House for a notorious Breach of Trust, as a Director of the South-Sea Company. [See Vol. I. p. 231.]

In his Place

Arthur Moor, Esq;

Stamford.

Hon. Charles Cecil, Esq; second Brother of the Earl of Exeter.

Hon. Charles Bertie, Esq;

Grantbam.

Edward Rolt, Esq;

John Heathcote, Esq;

Middlesex.

Hon. James Bertie, Esq; second Brother of the Earl of Abington.

Hugh Smithson, Esq;

Westminster.

Sir Thomas Crofs, Bart.

Hon. Edward Wortley Montagu, Esq; Ambassador Extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte.

London.

Sir John Ward,

Sir Thomas Scawen, } Knts. Alderm.

Peter Godfrey, Esq;

Robert Heytham, Esq; Alderman.

Donmouthshire.

Thomas Lewis, Esq;

John Morgan, Esq; Lord Lieutenant of the said County, and of Brecon; deceased. In his Place

John Hanbury, Esq;

Monmouth.

William Bray, Esq; deceased. In his Place

Hon. Andrew Windfor, Esq; youngest Brother of the Lord Visc. Windfor.

Norfolk.

Sir Jacob Astley, Knt. and Bart.

Thomas de Grey, Esq;

Norwich.

Waller Bacon, Esq; Commissary of the Stores of War in the Island of Minorca.

Robert Britcliffe, Esq;

Lyn-Regis.

Sir Charles Turner, Knt. made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and rechose.

Robert Walpole, Esq; one of the Lords of the Treasury, made Pay-Master General of his Majesty's Forces, and rechose; and since Chancellor of the Exchequer, and first Commissioner of the Treasury, and rechose. P. C.

Great Yarmouth.

George England, Esq;

Hon. Horatio Townshend, Esq;

Thetford.

John Ward, Esq;

Dudley North, Esq;

Castlerising.

Hon. William Fielding, Esq; made one of the Clerks Comptrollers of his Majesty's Household; and rechose.

Colonel Charles Churchill, Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince, made Governor of Chelsea Hospital; and rechose.

Northamptonshire.

Sir Justinian Isham, Bart.

Thomas Cartwright, Esq;

City of Peterborough.

John Fitz-Williams, Earl Fitz-Williams of Ireland.

Charles Parker, Esq;

Town of Northampton.

William Wykes, Esq;

George Montague, Esq; created Earl of Halifax. In his Place chose

William Wilmer, Esq;

Brackley.

Hon. William Egerton, Esq; second Brother to the Duke of Bridgewater.

Paul Methuen, Esq; one of the Lords of the Treasury, but made Secretary of State in the Absence of Mr. Stanhope, and rechose; and since Comptroller of his Majesty's Household, and rechose. P. C.

Higham Ferrers.

Hon. Charles Leigh, Esq; only Brother to the Lord Leigh.

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Northumberland.

Algernon Seymour, *Earl of Hertford, only Son to the Duke of Somerset, Governor of Tinmouth Port, Captain of the second Troop of Guards, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Suffolk.*

Thomas Forster, *Jun. Esq; expelled the House for being concerned in the Rebellion; [See Vol. I. p. 60.] In his Place chose*

Francis Blake, *alias Delavall, Esq; Newcastle upon Tyne.*

Sir William Blacket, *Bart.*

William Wrightson, *Esq; Morpeth.*

Henry Howard, *Lord Viscount Morpeth, Heir Apparent to the Earl of Carlisle.*

George Carpenter, *Esq; only Son of the Lord Carpenter, Captain of the Guards.*

Berwick upon Tweed.

Grey Neville, *Esq;*

John Barrington Schute, *Esq; created Lord Viscount Barrington of Ireland.*

Nottinghamshire.

Hon. Francis Willoughby, *Esq; Heir Apparent to the Lord Middleton.*

William Levinz, *Esq;*

Nottingham.

John Plumtre, *Esq; made Treasurer and Pay-Master of his Majesty's Ordnance, and rechose.*

George Gregory, *Esq; one of the Commissioners of the forfeited Estates, and since made Store-keeper of the Ordnance.*

East-Retford.

John Digby, *Esq;*

Thomas White, *Esq; made Clerk of the Ordnance, and rechose.*

Newark upon Trent.

Richard Sutton, *Esq; Brigadier-General of his Majesty's Army.*

Hon. Conyers Darcy, *Esq; made Master of his Majesty's Household,*

and rechose; and Lord Lieutenant of the North-Riding of the County of York.

Oron.

Sir Robert Jenkinson, *Bart. deceased. In his Place*

Sir Robert Banks Jenkinson, *Bart.*

Francis Clerk of Weston, *Esq; deceased. In his Place*

James Herbert, *Esq; deceased. In his Place*

Henry Perrot, *Esq;*

University of Oxford.

William Bromley, *Esq;*

Sir William Whitlock, *Knt. one of his Majesty's Council at Law, deceased. In his Place chose*

George Clarke, *L. L. D.*

Oxford.

Sir John Walter, *Bart.*

Thomas Rowney, *Esq;*

Woodstock.

Lieutenant General William Cadogan, *created Baron Reading. In his Place chose*

William Clayton, *Esq; Deputy Auditor of the Exchequer; made one of the Lords of the Treasury, and rechose.*

Sir Thomas Wheat, *Bart. made Keeper of the Stores of the Ordnance, and rechose, deceased. In his Place*

Thomas Crisp, *Esq;*

Banbury.

Sir Jonathan Cope, *Bart.*

Rutlandshire.

Daniel Lord Finch, *Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince in Extraordinary.*

Hon. John Noel, *Esq; deceased. In his Place*

John Marquis of Granby, *became Duke of Rutland. In his Place*

Sir Thomas Mackworth, *Bart.*

Salop.

Henry Lord Viscount Newport, *Heir Apparent to the Earl of Bradford.*

Sir

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

<i>Sir Robert Corbet, Bart. made one of the Clerks Comptrollers of his Majesty's Household, and rechose.</i>	<i>William Coward, Esq; deceased. In his Place</i>
<i>Salop.</i>	<i>Thomas Horner, Esq; aforesaid, again not duly elected. In his Place</i>
<i>Corbet Kynaston, Esq; [See Vol. I. p. 42.]</i>	<i>John Dodd, Esq; deceased. In his Place</i>
<i>Thomas Jones, Esq; deceased. In his Place chose</i>	<i>Thomas Edwards, Jun. Esq; Taunton.</i>
<i>Andrew Corbet, Esq; Bridgnorth.</i>	<i>Sir Francis Warr, Bart. } not duly elected.</i>
<i>William Whitmore, Esq;</i>	<i>Henry Portman, Esq; } In their Places</i>
<i>John Weaver, Esq; Ludlow.</i>	<i>Sir William Pinfent, Bart.</i>
<i>Humphrey Walcot, Esq;</i>	<i>James Smith, Esq; Bridgwater.</i>
<i>Francis Herbert, Esq; deceased. In his Place</i>	<i>Thomas Palmer, Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Robert Raymond, Knt. made Attorney-General, and rechose; chose before in this Parliament for Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight.</i>	<i>George Doddington, Esq; Lord Lieutenant of the County of Somerset, deceased. In his Place</i>
<i>Great Wenlock.</i>	<i>William Pitt, Esq; Minehead.</i>
<i>William Forrester, Esq;</i>	<i>Sir John Trevelyan, Bart. } not duly elected.</i>
<i>Hon. Thomas Newport, Esq; created Baron Torrington. In his Place</i>	<i>Sir Wil. Wyndham, Bart. } In their Places</i>
<i>Sir Humphrey Briggs, Bart. Bishop's Castle.</i>	<i>Thomas Gage, Esq; created since Lord Viscount Gage of Ireland. } not duly elected.</i>
<i>Charles Mason, Esq;</i>	<i>Samuel Edwin, Esq; Usher of the Exchequer. In their Places</i>
<i>Richard Harnage, Esq; deceased. Chose in his Place</i>	<i>Sir John Trevelyan aforesaid, rechose.</i>
<i>Sir Matthew Decker, Bart. Somersetshire.</i>	<i>James Milner, Esq; deceased. In his Place</i>
<i>Sir William Wyndham, Bart.</i>	<i>Sir Richard Lane, Knt. not duly elected. In his Place</i>
<i>William Hellier, Esq; [See Vol. I. p. 17 and 42.]</i>	<i>Hon. Robert Mansel, Esq; Heir Apparent to the Lord Mansel. Ilchester.</i>
<i>Bristol.</i>	<i>William Bellamy, Esq; Auditor of the North Part of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and Prothonotary of the said Dutchy.</i>
<i>Joseph Earle, Esq;</i>	<i>John Hopkins, Esq; Milbourn Port.</i>
<i>Sir William Daines, Knt. Bath.</i>	<i>James Medlicot, Esq;</i>
<i>John Codrington, Esq;</i>	<i>John Cox, Esq; deceased. In his Place chose</i>
<i>Samuel Trotman, Esq; deceased. In his Place</i>	
<i>Robert Gay, Esq; Wells.</i>	
<i>Maurice Berkley, Esq; } not duly elected.</i>	
<i>Thomas Horner, Esq; } In their Places</i>	
<i>William Piers, Esq;</i>	

Michael

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Michael Harvey, Esq; not duly elected. In his Place
 Charles Stanhope, Esq; made his Majesty's Treasurer of the Chamber, and recebse. [See Vol. I. p. 235.]

Southampton.

George Pitt, Esq;
 John Wallop, Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and recebse; created Lord Viscount Lymington. In his Place
 Lord Nassau Pawlet, youngest Brother of the Duke of Bolton.
 Winchester.

George Bridges Esq;

Lord William Pawlet, made one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, and recebse.

Southampton.

Richard Fleming, Esq;

Thomas Lewis, Esq;

Portsmouth.

Sir Edward Barnley, Bart.

Sir Charles Wager, Kt. Vice Admiral of the Red, made Comptroller of the Navy, and recebse; then one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and recebse.

Yarmouth.

Henry Holmes, Esq;

Sir Robert Raymond, Kt. } not duly elected.
 In their Places

Anthony Morgan, Esq; Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight.

Sir Theodore Janssen, Kt. and Bart. expelled the House for a notorious Breach of Trust, as a Director of the South-Sea Company. [See Vol. I. p. 231.]

William Plumer, Esq;

Petersfield.

Norton Paulett, Esq;

Leonard Bilson, Esq; deceased. In his Place chose

Samuel Pargiter Fuller, Esq;

Newport.

William Stephens, Esq;

James Stanhope, Esq; Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, created Lord Viscount Stanhope. In his Place

Sir Tristram Dillington, Bart. dec. In his Place

Thomas Stanwix, Esq; Governor of Kingston upon Hull.

Stockbridge.

Thomas Broderick, Esq; Brother of the Lord Viscount Broderick,

Col. Martin Bladen, Comptroller of the Mint, made one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and recebse.

Newtown.

James Worley, Esq;

Sir Robert Worley Bart.

Christ Church.

Sir Peter Mews, Kt. Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester.

William Ettricke, Esq; Solicitor for the Affairs of the Admiralty, dec. In his Place

Francis Gwyn, Esq;

Lymington.

Richard Chandler, Esq;

Sir Joseph Jekyll, Kt. Chief Justice of Chester, made Master of the Rolls, and recebse. P. C.

Whitchurch.

Lieutenant General George Carpenter, General of his Majesty's Forces in Scotland, and Governor of the Island of Minorca, and Port-Mahon; created Baron Carpenter of Ireland.

Thomas Vernon, Esq; expelled the House for making a corrupt Application to General Rossie in a Matter depending before the House. [See Vol. I. p. 245.] In his Place

Frederick Tilney, Esq; not duly elected. In his Place

John Conduit Esq;

Andover.

William Guidett Esq;

Hon.

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

Hon. James Brudenel, Esq; made Master of the Jewel-Office, and rechose.

Staffordshire.

Henry Lord Paget, Heir apparent of the Earl of Uxbridge.

William Ward, Esq; dec. In his Place

Hon. William Leveson-Gower, Esq; second Brother of the Lord Gower. Litchfield.

Samuel Hill, Esq;

Water Chetwynd, Esq; made Paymaster of divers annual Bounties and Pensions. In his Place

William Sneyd, Esq; not duly elected. In whose Place

Walter Chetwynd, Esq; aforesaid rechose.

Stafford.

Walter Chetwynd, created Lord Viscount Chetwynd of Ireland, chief Ranger of St. James's Park.

William Chetwynd, Esq; made Commissioner of the Admiralty, and rechose.

Newcastle under Line.

Rowland Cotton, Esq;

Henry Vernon, Esq; } not duly elected.

In their Places

Sir Bryan Broughton, } Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.

Crew Ossly Esq;

Tamworth.

Samuel Bracebridge, Esq;

William Ing, Esq;

Suttholk.

Sir Thomas Hanmer Bart.

Sir Robert Davers, Bart.

Ipswich.

Sir William Thompson, Kt. Recorder of the City of London, made his Majesty's Solicitor-General, and rechose.

William Churchill, Esq; made his Majesty's Bookseller, Bookbinder and Stationer. In his Place

Francis Negus Esq; Commissioner for executing the Office of Master of the Horse.

Dunwich.

Sir Robert Rich, Bart. Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince.

Col. Charles Long, one of the Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates.

Orford.

Clement Corrance, Esq;

Sir Edward Turner, Kt. dec. In his Place

Sir Richard Duke, Bart.

Alborough.

William Johnson, Esq; dec. In his Place

Samuel Low, Esq; Comptroller of the Ordnance in Ireland.

Sir Henry Johnson, Kt. dec. In his Place

Walter Plumer, Esq;

Sudbury.

Sir Harvey Elwes Bart.

Thomas Western, Esq;

Eye.

Edward Hopkins, Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, and rechose.

Thomas Smith, Esq;

St. Edmundsbury.

Carr, Lord Hervey, Heir apparent of the Earl of Bristol, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to the Prince.

Aubrie Porter, Esq; dec. In his Place

James Reynolds Esq; Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of the said Borough.

Surrey.

Heneage Finch, Lord Guernsey, became Earl of Aylesford. In his Place

John Walter, Esq;

Sir Richard Onslow, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, created Baron Onslow. In his Place

Thomas Onslow, Esq; his Son; Out Ranger

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Ranger of Windsor Forest, became Lord Onslow. In his Place
Denzil Onslow, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office, and Out-Ranger of Windsor Forest, dec. In his Place

Sir William Scawen, Kt.
Southwark.

John Lade, Esq;
Sir Fisher Tench, Bart.
Blechingly.

George Ewelyn Esq; one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth to the Prince of Wales.

Thomas Onslow, Esq; made Out-Ranger of Windsor Forest. In his Place chose

William Clayton Esq;
Rygate.

James Cocks, Esq;
Sir John Parsons, Kt. dec. In his Place

William Jordan, Esq; dec. In his Place

Thomas Jordan Esq;
Guildford.

Morgan Randyl, Esq;
Denzil Onslow, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office, made Out-Ranger of Windsor Forest. Chose in his Place

General Robert Wroth, one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth, dec. In his Place

Arthur Onslow, Esq;
Gatton.

William Newland, Esq;
Paul Docminique, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

Hastlemere.
Sir Nicholas Carew, Bart.
Sir Mountague Blundel, Bart. created Lord Viscount Blundel of Ireland.

Suffex.
Hon. Spencer Compton, Esq; SPEAKER, Treasurer, to the Prince, P.
Vol. III.

C. since made Paymaster General of his Majesty's Forces, and also of Chelsea College.

James Butler, Esq;
Chichester.

Sir Thomas Miller, Bart.
Sir Richard Farington, Bart. dec.
Chose in his Place

Henry Kessel, Esq; one of the chief Clerks of the Treasury.
Horsham.

Sir Harry Goreing, } not duly elected; In

Bart. } their Places
Charles Eversfield, Esq;
Arthur Ingram Esq; one of the Commissioners of the forfeited Estates.

Hon. Arthur Ingram, became Lord Viscount Irwin. In his Place
Charles Eversfield, aforesaid.

Midhurst.
John Fortescue Aland, Esq; made his Majesty's Solicitor General, and rechose; then one of the Barons of the Exchequer. In his Place

Alan, Lord Viscount Broderick of Ireland, late Lord Chancellor there.
William Knight, alias Woodward, Esq; dec. In his Place

Sir Richard Mills, Bart.
Lewes.

Thomas Pelham, Esq; made one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and rechose.

John Morley Trevor, Esq; dec. In his Place

Sir Philip York, Kt. made his Majesty's Solicitor General, and rechose.

New-Shoreham
Sir Nathaniel Gould, Kt.

Sir Gregory Page, Kt. and Bart.
dec. In his Place

Francis Chamberlain, Esq;
Bramber.

Sir Richard Gough Kt.
Sir Thomas Stiles Bart. not duly elected. In his Place

Edward Minshul, Esq;

D

Steyning

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

<i>Steving.</i>	Francis Swanton, Esq; deceased. <i>In Place</i>
Major General John Pepper, Col. of Dragoons, and Ranger of the Forest of Epping.	Andrew Duncomb, Esq; <i>Wilton.</i>
Robert Leeves, Esq; not duly elected. <i>In his Place</i>	John London, Esq;
William Wallis Esq; <i>East-Gristled.</i>	Thomas Pit, Jun. Esq, Colonel of Horse, created Baron of Londonderry in Ireland.
John Conyers Esq; one of his Majesty's Council at Law.	<i>Downeton.</i>
Richard Boyle, Lord Viscount Shannon of Ireland, Lieutenant General of his Forces.	Charles Longueville, Esq;
<i>Arundel.</i>	John Eyre, Esq; deceased. <i>In his Place</i>
Hon. Henry Lumley, Esq; General of the Horse, and Governor of the Island of Jersey.	Gyles Eyre, Esq; <i>Hindon.</i>
Thomas Micklethwait, Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and rechose, then Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, dec. <i>In his Place</i>	George Wade, Esq; Major General of his Majesty's Forces.
Joseph Micklethwait, Esq; <i>Warwickshire.</i>	Reynolds Calthorpe, Esq; deceased. <i>In his Place</i>
Andrew Archer, Esq; <i>Coventry.</i>	John Pitt, Esq; Colonel of the Guards. <i>Heytesbury.</i>
William Peytoe, Esq;	Edward Ash, Esq; made one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and rechose.
Sir Thomas Samwel, Bart;	William Ash, Esq; <i>Westbury.</i>
Sir Adolphus Oughton, Kt. and Bar. Major of the Guards. <i>Warwick.</i>	Hon. Willoughby } Double Return. Bertie, Esq; } Voted not duly Francis Annelly, } elected. <i>In their Places</i>
Hon. Dodington Grevil, Esq;	George Evans, Esq; created Lord Carbery of the Kingdom of Ireland.
William Colemore, Jun. Esq; <i>Westmorland.</i>	Charles Allanson, Esq; <i>Calne.</i>
Hon. James Grahme, Esq; Brother to the Lord Viscount Preston.	Sir Orlando Bridgman Bart. one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth to the Prince.
Daniel Wilton, Esq; <i>Apulby.</i>	Richard Chiswell, Esq; <i>Devizes.</i>
Sir Richard Sandford, Bart. Warden of the Mint.	Josiah Diston Esq; Deputy Governor of the Bank of England.
Thomas Lutwyche, Esq; one of his Majesty's Council at Law. <i>Wiltshire.</i>	Francis Eyles, Esq; expelled the House for a notorious Breach of Trust, as a Director of the South-Sea Company. [See Vol. I. p. 230.] <i>In his Place</i>
Sir Richard How, Bart.	Benjamin Haskin Styles, Esq; <i>Chippenharn.</i>
Robert Hide, Esq; <i>New Sarum.</i>	
Edward Lambert, Esq;	

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

- Chippenham.*
 Sir John Eyles Bart. Alderman of London, one of the Commissioners for the forfeited Estates, and Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Company.
 Giles Erle, Esq; Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, made one of the Clerks Comptrollers of his Majesty's Household, and rechose.
Malmesbury.
 Sir John Rulhout, Bart.
 Joseph Addison, Esq; made a Commissioner of Trade, and rechose; and late one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and rechose. P. C. dec. In his Place
 Fleetwood Dormer, Esq;
Cricklade.
 Sir Thomas Read, Bart. Gentleman of the Privy-chamber.
 Jacob Sawbridge, Esq; expelled the House for a notorious Breach of Trust, as a Director of the South-Sea Company. [See Vol. I. p. 231.] In his Place
 Hon. Mathew Ducie Moreton, Esq; Heir apparent of the Lord Moreton.
Bedwin.
 Stephen Biss, Esq; a Commissioner of the Equivalent, and since made one of the Commissioners of the Victualing-Office.
 William Sloper, Esq; Secretary to the Pay-Master General.
Ludgershall.
 Lieutenant General John Richmond Webb, Governor of the Isle of Wight.
 John Ivory Talbot, Esq;
Old-Sarum.
 Thomas Pitt, Esq; made Governor of Jamaica. In his Place chose
 Sir William Strickland, Bart. made Commissary General of the Musters, and rechose.
 Robert Pitt, Esq;
Wotton Bassett.
 Sir James Long, Bart.
- William Northey Esq;
Marlborough.
 Sir William Humphreys Kt. and Bart. Alderman of London.
 Joshua Ward Esq; not duly elected.
 In his Place
 Gabriel Roberts, Esq;
Worcestershire.
 Sir John Packington, Bart. [See Vol. I. p. 42.]
 Thomas Vernon, Esq; dec. In his Place
 Sir Thomas Littleton Bart.
Worcester.
 Thomas Wyld Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, and rechose.
 Samuel Swift, Esq; dec. In his Place
 Samuel Sandys, Esq;
Droitwich.
 Richard Foley, Esq; one of the Prothonotaries of the Court of Common-Pleas.
 Edward Winnington Jefferys Esq; one of the Welsh Judges.
Evesham.
 John Rudge, Esq; Deputy Governor of the South-Sea Company.
 John Deacle, Esq;
Bewdley.
 Grey James Grove, Esq; made one of the Commissioners for stating the Debts due to the Army.
Yorkshire.
 Henry Dawney, Lord Viscount Down of Ireland.
 Sir Arthur Kay, Bart.
York.
 Sir William Robinson, Bart.
 Tobias Jenkins, Esq;
Kingslon upon Hull.
 Sir William St. Quintin Bart. one of the Lords of the Treasury, and since made Vice Treasurer, Receiver-General, and Pay-Master General of Ireland, and rechose.
 William Maister, Esq; deceased. In his Place D 2 Nathaniel

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

Nathaniel Rogers, Esq;

Knaresborough.

Robert Hitch, Esq; made one of the Commissioners for stating the Debts due to the Army.

Harry Coote, Earl of Montrath, of Ireland, deceased. In his Place

Hon. Richard Arundel, Esq;

Scarborough.

William Thompson, Esq; made Warden of his Majesty's Mint; and rechose.

John Hungerford, Esq; Curator of Yorkshire and Westmorland.

Rippon.

John Aislaby, Esq; Treasurer of the Navy, then made one of the Lords of the Treasury, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and rechose. P. C. Expelled the House, and committed to the Tower, for combining with the late Directors of the South-Sea Company, in their Breach of Trust, &c. [See Vol. I. p. 236.] In his Place

John Aislaby, Jun. Esq;

Christopher Wandesford, Lord Viscount Castlecomer of Ireland, deceased. In his Place

William Aislaby, Esq;

Richmond.

Thomas York, Esq; deceased. In his Place

John York, Esq;

Hon. Harry Mordaunt, Esq; second Brother to the Earl of Peterborough, Treasurer of the Ordnance, deceased. In his Place

Richard Abel, Esq;

Heydon.

William Pulteney, Esq; Lord Lieutenant of the East-Riding of Yorkshire, P. C.

Hugh Cholmeley, Esq; Surveyor General of all the King's Honours, Castles, &c. made one of the Commissioners of the Victualling Office, and rechose.

Borough Bridge.

Sir Richard Steel, Knt. Master of the Play-House, and one of the Commissioners for the forfeited Estates.

Thomas Wilkinson, Esq; made Receiver General of the Duties on Houses for the County of York, Durham, and Northumberland; chose in his Place

Sir Wilfred Lawson, Bart. made one of the Grooms of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, and rechose.

Malton.

Hon. Thomas Wentworth, Esq; second Brother of the Earl of Rockingham.

Thomas Wentworth, Jun. Son of the said Thomas.

Thirsk.

Thomas Frankland, Esq; made Clerk of the Deliveries, and Secretary to Master General of the Ordnance.

Ralph Bell, Esq; made one of the Customers of the Port of Hull. In his Place

Thomas Pitt, Sen. Esq; late Governor of Jamaica.

Aldborough.

William Jessop, Esq; a Welsh Judge, made one of the Commissioners and Receiver General of the Alienation Office, and rechose.

James Stanhope, Esq; Principal Secretary of State. In his Place

Sir William Monson, Bart.

Beverly.

Sir Charles Hotham, Bart.

Sir Michael Wharton, Bart.

Northallerton.

Leonard Smelt, Esq;

Cholmley Turner, Esq;

Pontefract.

Hon. John Dawney, Esq; Son of the Lord Viscount Down. } not du-

Robert Frank, Esq; In their } sted.

Places

Sir William Lowther, Bart.

Hugh Bethel, Esq;

Barons

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Barons of the CINQUE PORTS.

Hastings.

Archibald Hutcheson, *Esq;*
Henry Pelham, *Esq;* Son of Henry
Pelham, *Esq;* late Clerk of the
Pells.

Dover.

Matthew Aylmer, *Esq;* made
one of the Commissioners of the
Admiralty, and rechose; then
Master of Greenwich Hospital
for Life, and Rear Admiral of
Great Britain, and rechose; created
Baron Batrach of Ireland, deceased.
In his Place

Hon. George Berkley, *Esq;* youngest
Brother of the Earl of Berkley.
Phillip Papillon, *Esq;* made Receiver
of the Stamp Duties. In his Place
Henry Furnese, *Esq;*

Sandwich.

Sir Thomas Daeth, *Bart.*
Sir Henry Oxenden, *Bart.* deceased.
In his Place
Sir George Oxenden, *Bart.*

Hyeth.

Jacob des Bouverie, *Esq;*
Sir Samuel Lennard, *Knt.* and *Bart.*
Groom of the Bedchamber to the
Prince, and Lieutenant of the second
Troop of Guards.

New Romney.

Sir Robert Furnese, *Bart.*
Edward Lord Viscount Sonds, *Heir*
Apparent to the Earl of Rocking-
ham, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber
to the Prince

Rye.

Sir John Norris, *Knt.* Admiral of the
Blue, Envoy Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary to the Czar of Mus-
covy, made one of the Commissioners
of the Admiralty, and rechose.
Philip Gibbon, *Esq;* one of the Com-
missioners of the Revenue in Ireland.

Winchelsea.

Robert Bristow, *Esq;* chose one of the
Commissioners for stating the Debts
due to the Army, in the Room of
Thomas Smith, *Esq;* deceased, and
since made Clerk Comptroller of his
Majesty's Household, and rechose.

George Bubb Doddington, *Esq;* his
Majesty's late Envoy Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary at the Court of
Spain; Lord Lieutenant of the
County of Somerset.

Seaford.

George Naylor, *Esq;*
Sir William Ashburnham, *Bart.* one
of the Chamberlains of the Exche-
quer, made one of the Commissioners
of Alienation. In his Place

Hon. Henry Pelham, *Esq;* only Bro-
ther to the Duke of Newcastle, made
his Majesty's Treasurer of the Cham-
ber, and rechose; and then one of
the Commissioners of the Treasury,
and rechose.

W A L E S.

Anglesea.

Owen Meyrick, *Esq;* made one of the
Commissioners for stating the Debts
due to the Army.

Beaumaris

Hon. Henry Bertie, *Esq;* Brother to
the Earl of Abingdon.

Brecon.

Sir Edward Williams, *Kt.* deceased.
In his Place
William-Gwyn Vaughan, *Esq;*
Town of Brecon.

Roger Jones, *Esq;*

Cardigan.

Lewis Price, *Esq;* expell'd for his
Contempt of the Orders of the House
to attend his Service in Parliament,
and since dec. In his Place chose
Owen Brigstock, *Esq;*

Town

A LIST of the first House of Commons,

Town of Cardigan.

Stephen Parry, Esq;

Carmarthen.

Charles Paulett, Marquis of Winchester, Heir apparent of the Duke of Bolton, Lord-Lieutenant of the City of Carmarthen and Glamorgan, called up by Writ to the House of Peers. In his Place chose

Sir Thomas Stepney, Bart.

Town of Carmarthen.

Richard Vaughan, Esq; made a Welch Judge, and rechose Carnarban.

William Griffith, Esq; dec. In his Place chose

John Griffith, Esq;

Town of Carnarvan.

Thomas Wynne, Esq; Equerry to the Prince.

Denbigh.

Sir Richard Middleton, Bart. dec. In his Place chose

Watkin Williams Wynn, Esq;

Town of Denbigh.

John Roberts, Esq;

Flint.

Sir Roger Mostyn, Bart.

Town of Flint.

Sir John Conway, dec. In his Place

Thomas Eaton, Esq;

Glamorgan.

Robert Jones, Esq; dec. In his Place

Sir Charles Keymis, Bart.

Town of Cardiffe.

Sir Edward Stradling, Bart.

Merioneth.

Richard Vaughan, Esq;

Montgomery.

Edw. Vaughan, Esq; dec. In his Place

Hon. Price Devereux, Esq; Heir apparent to the Ld Viscount Hereford

Town of Montgomery.

John Pugh, Esq;

Sir Arthur Owen, Bart. Lord-Lieutenant of the said County.

Town of Pembroke.

Thomas Ferrers, Esq; Brigadier-General of his Majesty's Forces.

Haverford West.

John Laugharne, Esq; dec. In his Place

Sir George Barlow, Bart. not duly elected. In his Place

John Barlow, Esq; dec. In his Place

Sir John Philips, Bart.

Radnor.

Sir Richard Fowler, Bart. made one of the Commissioners for stating the Debts due to the Army.

Town of New Radnor.

Thomas Lewis, Esq; jun.

SCOTLAND.

Shire of Aberdeen.

Sir Alexander Cumming, Bart.

Shire of Air.

John Montgomery, Esq;

Shire of Argyle.

Sir James Campbell, Bart.

Shire of Bamff.

Alexander Abercromby, Esq;

Shire of Berwick.

George Bailie, Esq; made Commissioner of the Treasury, and rechose.

Shires of Bute and Cathness.

Sir Robert Gordon, Kt. and Bart.

Shire of Nairn and Cromartie

Alexander Urquhart, Esq;

Shire of Dumbarton.

Hon. John Campbell, sen. Esq; Surveyor of the King's Works in Scotland.

Shire of Dumfries.

Sir William Johnston, Bart.

Shire of Edinburgh.

John Baird, jun. Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Equivalent.

Shire of Elgin.

Alexander Grant, Esq; Brigadier-General of his Majesty's Forces, and Lord-Lieutenant of the Shires of Bamff and Inverness, dec. In his Place chose

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

James Brodie, Esq; dec. In his Place
Alexander Brodie of Brodie, Esq;

Shire of Fife.

Sir John Anstruther, Bart. made
Master of his Majesty's Works in
Scotland, and rechose.

Shire of Forfar.

John Carnegie, Esq; expelled the
House for having acted in the late
Rebellion. In his Place

James Scot, Jun. Esq;

Shire of Haddington.

John Cockburn of Ormiston, Esq;
made one of the Commissioners of the
Admiralty, and rechose.

Shire of Inverness.

John Forbes, Esq;

Shire of Kincardin.

James Scott, Esq; Major in the Foot
Guards.

Shires of Kinross and Clackmanan.

William Douglas, Esq;

Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

Alexander Murray, Esq;

Shire of Lanerk.

James Lockhart, Esq; one of the
Commissioners of the Equivalent, de-
ceased. In his Place

Lord Atchibald Hamilton.

Shire of Linlithgow.

Sir James Cunningham.

Burghs of { Kirkwall
Week
Dornock
Dingwall
Taine

Burghs of { Fortrose
Inverness
Nairn
Forreth

Burghs of { Elgin
Cullen
Bamff
Inverury
Kintore

Burghs of { Aberdeen
Inverbervy
Montrose
Aberbrothock
Brichene

Shire of Orkney and Zetland.

James Moodie, jun. Esq;

Shire of Peebles.

Alexander Murray, Esq;

Shire of Perth.

Ld James Murray, second Son to the
Duke of Athol.

Shire of Renfrew.

Sir Robert Pollock, Bart. made Go-
vernor of Fort-William, and re-
chose.

Shire of Ross.

Hon. Charles Ross, Esq; Lieutenant-
General of his Majesty's Forces.

Shire of Roxburgh.

William Douglas, jun. Esq;

Shire of Selkirk.

John Pringle, Esq;

Shire of Stirling.

Mungo Haldane, Esq;

Shire of Sutherland.

Sir William Gordon, Bart. one of the
Commissioners for stating the Debts
due to the Army.

Shire of Wigtoun.

Hon. John Stuart, Esq; Brigadier-Ge-
neral of his Majesty's Forces.

City of Edinburgh.

*Sir George Warrender, Bart. dec.
In his Place

John Campbell, Esq;

Robert Monro, Esq; a Commissioner for
the forfeited Estates.

William Stewart, Esq; Remembrancer of
the Exchequer in Scotland.

Hon. James Murray, Esq; not duly return'd
In his Place

John Campbell, jun. Esq; Groom of the
Bed-chamber to the Prince, and Capt. in
the Foot-Guards.

James Erskine, Esq; not duly elected. In his
Place

John Middleton, Esq; Lieut. Col. of Foot,
and Dep. Gov. of Tinnmouth-Fort.

Burghs

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

Burghs of	Forfar	}	Patrick Haldane, Esq; one of the Commissioners for the forfeited Estates.
	Perth		
	Dundee		
	Coupar		
Burghs of	St. Andrews	}	Philip Anstruther, Esq; Colonel in the Foot Guards.
	Craill		
	Kilrennie		
	Anstruther Easter		
Burghs of	Anstruther Wester	}	Hon. William Ker, Esq; Brother of the Duke of Roxburgh, Colonel of Dragoons, and Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince.
	Pettenweem		
	Dysert		
	Kirkaldie		
Burghs of	Kinghorne	}	Henry Cunningham, Esq; Commissary General of the Musters in Scotland, and a Commissioner for the forfeited Estates.
	Bruntisland		
	Inverkithen		
	Dunfermline		
Burghs of	Queensferry	}	Thomas Smith, Esq; one of the Commissioners for stating the Debts due to the Army, deceased. In his Place
	Culcrofs		
	Stirling		
	Glasgow		
Burghs of	Renfrew	}	Daniel Campbel, Esq;
	Rutherglen		
	Dumbarton		
	Hadington		
Burghs of	Dunbarr	}	Sir David Dalrymple, Bart. late Lord Advocate for Scotland, and since made Auditor of his Majesty's Exchequer there, and recdse, deceased. In his Place
	North Berwick		
	Lauder		
	Jedburgh		
Burghs of	Selkirk	}	Sir James Dalrymple, Bart.
	Peebles		
	Linlithgow		
	Lanerk		
Burghs of	Dumfries	}	Hon. Colonel George Douglas, only Brother to the Earl of Moreton.
	Sanquhar		
	Annan		
	Lockmaben		
Burghs of	Kirkcudbright	}	Alexander Ferguson, Esq;
	Wigtoun		
	New Galloway		
	Stranraer		
Burghs of	Whitehorn	}	Patrick Vans, Esq;
	Air		
	Irvin		
	Rothsfay		
Burghs of	Campletoun	}	Charles Oliphant, Esq; M. D. deceased. In his Place
	Inverary		
			Thomas Kennedy, Esq;

A N
E X A C T L I S T
O F T H E

Knights and Commissioners of Shires,
Citizens and Burgeſſes, of the ſecond
Parliament of King GEORGE I. ſum-
moned to meet at *Weſtmiſter* on the
10th of *May*, and then prorogued to the
9th of *October*, 1722.

Bedfordſhire.
HON. Charles Leigh, *Eſq;* only
Brother of the Lord Leigh.
Sir Rowland Allton, *Bart.*
Bedford.

William Farrer, *Eſq;*
George Huxley, *Eſq;* made one of the
Commiſſioners for victualling his
Majeſty's Navy. In his Place
John Thurloe Brace, *Eſq;*
Berkſhire.

Sir John Stonehouſe, *Bart.*
Robert Packer, *Eſq;*
New Windſor.

William O Brian, *Earl of Inchiquin*
of Ireland, *Knt. of the Bath.*
Charles Beauclear, *Earl of Burford*,
Knt. of the Bath, became Duke of
St. Albans. In his Place
Lord Vere Beauclear, third Brother of
Duke of St. Albans, Commander of
his Majeſty's Ship the *Lyme.*

Reading.
Anthony Blaggrave, *Eſq;*
Clement Kent, *Eſq;*
Wallingford.

George Lord Parker, one of the Tel-
lers of the Exchequer for Life;
Vol. III.

Heir Apparent of the Earl of Mac-
clesfield.
William Hucks, *Eſq;* Brewer to his
Majeſty's Houſehold.

Abington.
Robert Hucks, *Eſq;* Son of the afore-
ſaid William Hucks, *Eſq;*
Buckinghamſhire.

Montague Garrard Drake, *Eſq;*
Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*
Buckingham.

Richard Greenville, *Eſq;* deceased.
In his Place

Hon. John Fane, *Eſq;* Brother to the
Earl of Weſtmoreland, Colonel of
the firſt Troop of Grenadier Guards.
Alexander Denton, *Eſq;* one of his
Majeſty's Council at Law, and
Attorney General of the Dutchy of
Lancaster; made one of the Judges
of the Court of Common-Pleas.
In his Place

William Heathcote, *Eſq;*
Chipping Wicomb.

Henry Earl of Shelburne of Ire-
land.

Hon. Charles Egerton, *Eſq;* youngſt
E Bro-

A LIST of the second House of COMMONS,

Brother of the Duke of Bridgewater, deceased. In his Place	County of Cornwall.
Charles Collyear, Esq; second Son of the Earl of Portmore, whose Elec- tion being declared void, was there- upon rechose, and again not voted not duly elected. In his Place	Sir William Carew, Bart.
Harry Waller of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; Ailesbury.	Sir John St. Aubin, Bart.
Richard Abel, Esq;	Launceston.
John Guise, Jun. Esq; Heir Apparent of Sir John Guise, Bart.	John Freind, M. D. not duly elected.
Agmondesham.	In his Place
Ralph Lord Viscount Fermannah of Ireland.	John Willes, Esq; one of his Majesty's Council at Law, made second Justice of Chester. In his Place
Montague Garrard Drake, Esq; made his Election for the County. In his Place	Hon. Henry Vane, Esq; Son and Heir Apparent to the Lord Barnard.
Thomas Chapman, Esq; Wendover.	Alexander Pendarves, Esq; deceased.
Richard Hampden, Esq; P. C.	In his Place
Sir Richard Steele, Kt. Master of the Play-House.	John Freind, M. D. aforesaid, rechose.
Great-Marlow.	Leckard.
Sir John Guise, Bart.	John Lansdell, Esq;
Edmond Waller, Esq; Cambridgehire.	Edward Eliot, Esq; deceased. In his Place
Sir John Hynde Cotton, Bart.	Thomas Clutterbuck, Esq; made Se- cretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
Edward Lord Harley, became Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. In his Place	Leſſwiththiel.
Samuel Sheppard, Esq; University of Cambridge.	William Cavendish, Marquis of Hartington, made his Election for Grampound. In his Place
Hon. Dixie Windsor, Esq; Fellow of Trinity-College, and third Son of the late Earl of Plymouth.	Sir Orlando Bridgman, Bart. Audi- tor General to the Prince.
Hon. Thomas Willoughby, Esq; second Son of the Lord Middleton.	Philip Lord Stanhope, one of the Gen- tlemen of the Bedchamber to the Prince, made Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. In his Place
Town of Cambridge.	Henry Parsons, Esq; Purveyor of Chel- sea Hospital, made one of the Com- missioners of the Victualling-Office.
Thomas Bacon, Esq;	In his Place
Sir John Hynde Cotton, Bart. made his Election for the County. In his Place	Sir William Stanhope, Knt. of the Bath, only Brother of the Earl of Chesterfield.
Gilbert Affleck, Esq; Cheſhire.	Truroe.
Charles Cholmondeley, Esq;	Hon. Spencer Cowper, Esq; Uncle of the Earl Cowper, Chief Justice of Chester, and Attorney General to the Prince.
John Crew, Esq; Cheſter.	Thomas Wyndham, Esq; Auditor of the South Part of the Dutchy of Lancaster.
Sir Henry Bunbury, Bart.	Bodmin.
Sir Richard Grosvenor, Bart.	Isaac Le Heup, Esq; his Majesty's En- voy to the Diet of Ratisbon.

Richard

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Richard West, Esq; made Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and rechose; deceased. In his Place

John la Roche, Esq;
Helsion.

Walter Cary, Esq; one of the Clerks of his Majesty's Council in extraordinary, made Warden of his Majesty's Mint, and rechose.

Sir Robert Raymond, Knt. his Majesty's Attorney General, made one of the Justices of the Court of King's Bench. In his Place

Sir Clement Wearg, Knt. his Majesty's Solicitor General, deceased. In his Place

Exton Sayer, L. L. D. Commissary of Effex, and Advocate in Doctor's Commons.

Saltaß.

Edward Hughes, Esq; Judge Advocate General.

Thomas Swanton, Esq; Comptroller of the Navy.

Camelford.

Henry Moore, Earl of Drogheda, of Ireland.

William Sloper, Esq; made Deputy Cofferer of the Household.

Portpigham, alias Westlow.

Sir John Trelawney, Bart.

George Delaval, Esq; Rear Admiral of the Red, deceased. In his Place

Edward Trelawney, Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Victualling Office, and rechose.

Grampound.

William Cavendish, Marquis of Hartington, Son and Heir Apparent of the Duke of Devonshire, made Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.

Humphrey Morrice, Esq;
Eastlow.

John Smith, Esq; one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, P. C. deceased. In his Place

George Cholmondeley, Lord Viscount

Malpas, and Knt. of the Bath, Son and Heir Apparent to the Earl of Cholmondeley.

Horatio Walpole, Esq; Auditor of the Trade and Plantation Accounts. In his Place

William Lownds, Esq; Secretary to the Treasury, deceased. In his Place

Sir Henry Hoghton, Bart.
Penryn.

Sidney Meadows, Esq; Son of Sir Philip Meadows, Bart. Knight Marshal.

Edward Vernon, Esq; Captain of one of his Majesty's Men of War; chose likewise in this Parliament for the Borough of Dunwich.

Tregony.

John Merril, Esq;

James Cook, Esq;

Bosfiney.

Henry Kellall, Esq; one of the Chief Clerks of the Treasury.

Robert Corker, Esq;

St. Ives.

Henry Knollys, Esq;

Sir John Hobart, Knt. of the Bath, and Bart. one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations; chose likewise for Beer-Alston in the County of Devon.

Forwey.

John Goodall, Esq; deceased. In his Place

William Bromley, jun. Esq;

Nicholas Vincent, Esq; deceased. In his Place

Richard Viscount Fitzwilliams of Ireland.

St. Germans.

John Hamilton, Lord Binney, Son and Heir Apparent of the Earl of Hadingtoun.

Philip Cavendish, Esq; Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital.

St. Michael.

John Hedges, Esq; his Majesty's En-

A List of the second House of Commons,

*roy Extraordinary and Plenipoten-
tiary to the King of Sardinia.*

Charles Selwyn, Esq; Gentleman
Usher to the Princefs.

Newport.

Sir William Poole, Bart. chose like-
wise in this Parliament for the Bo-
rough of Honiton. In his Place

John Morrice, Esq;

Sir Nicholas Morrice, Bart. deceased.
In his Place

Hon. Thomas Herbert, Esq; fourth
Son of the Earl of Pembroke.

St. Maros.

Sidney Godolphin, Esq; Auditor for
the Principality of Wales, and Go-
vernor of the Island of Scilly.

Samuel Travers, Esq; Auditor of the
Prince, and Clerk of the King's
Works; deceased. In his Place

Samuel Molyneux, Esq; Secretary
to the Prince.

Kellington.

Thomas Lutwyche, Esq;

Thomas Coppleston, Esq;

Cumberland.

Sir Christopher Musgrave, Bart.

Gilfrid Lawfon, Esq;

Carlisle.

James Bateman, Esq;

Henry Aglionby, Esq;

Cockermouth.

Sir Wilfred Lawfon, Bart.

Sir Thomas Pengelly, Knt. his Ma-
jesty's Premier Serjeant at Law,
made Lord Chief Baron of the Court
of Exchequer. In his Place

Hon. William Finch, Esq; second Son
of the Earl of Nottingham.

Derbyshire.

Sir John Curzon, Bart.

Godfrey Clark, Esq;

Derby.

Lord James Cavendish, only Brother
to the Duke of Devonshire.

Thomas Bayley, Esq;

Devonshire.

Sir William Courtenay, Bart.

Sir Copplestone Warwick, Bamfield
Bart.

Exeter.

John Rolle, Esq;

Francis Drew, Esq;

Totness.

Joseph Banks, Esq;

Sir Charles Wills, Knt. of the Bath,
Lieutenant General of the Ordnance,
and Colonel of the first Regiment of
Foot Guards, P. C.

Plymouth.

Hon. William Chetwynd, Esq; young-
est Brother of the Lord Viscount
Chetwynd, one of the Commissioners
of the Admiralty.

Hon. Pattee Byng, Esq; Son and Heir
Apparent of the Lord Viscount Tor-
rington, made Treasurer of the
Navy, and rechose.

Okehampton.

Robert Pitt, Esq; one of the Clerks of
the Greencloth to the Prince.

John Crowley, Esq;

Barnstable.

Thomas Whetham, Esq; Lieutenant
General of his Majesty's Forces, and
Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.

Sir Hugh Ackland, Bart.

Plymton.

Richard Edgcomb, Esq; made one of
the Vice Treasurers and Pay Masters
General of Ireland, and rechose.

George Treby, Esq; made one of the
Tellers of the Exchequer, and re-
chose.

Honiton.

Sir William Yonge, Knt. of the Bath,
made one of the Commissioners of the
Treasury, and rechose.

Sir William Pole, Bart.

Tarvisstock.

Sir John Cope, Bart.

Sir Francis Henry Drake, Bart.

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Abburton.

Roger Tuckfield, *Esq;*

Richard Reynell, *Esq;*

Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardnefs.

George Treby, *Esq;* Col. in the Guards.

Tho. Martin, *Esq;* made one of the Welch Judges, and rechofe.

Beer-Alston.

Hon. St. John Broderick, *Esq;* Son and Heir apparent to the Lord Viscount Middleton, of the Kingdom of Ireland.

Sir John Hobart, *Kt.* of the Bath, and *Bart.* made his Election for the Borough of St. Ives in the County of Cornwall. In his Place

Sir Robert Rich, *Bart.* Brigadier. General of his Majesty's Forces, Col. of a Regiment of Dragoons, and Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince.

Tiverton.

Arthur Arscot, *Esq;*

Thomas Bere, *Esq;* one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office, dec. In his Place

George Dean, *Esq;*

Dorsetshire.

George Chaffin, *Esq;*

Thomas Strangeways, *Esq;* deceased. In his Place

George Pitt, jun. *Esq;*

Poole.

Thomas Ridge, *Esq;*

George Trenchard, *Esq;*

Dorchester.

Joseph Damer, *Esq;*

Edmund Moreton Pleydell, *Esq;* not duly elected. In his Place

William Chapple, *Serjeant at Law.* *Lyme-Regis.*

Henry Holt Henley, *Esq;* Recorder of the said Borough

John Burridge, jun. *Esq;*

Weymouth.

John Ward, *Esq;* Expelled the House for Forgery. In his Place

John Wiles, *Esq;* second Justice of Chester.

Thomas Pearce, *Esq;* made one of the Commissioners of the Navy. In his Place

Edward Tucker, *Esq;*

Melcomb-Regis.

Sir James Thornhill, *Kt.* His Majesty's Serjeant Painter.

William Betts, *Esq;*

Bridport.

Sir Dewey Bulkeley, *Knt.*

Peter Walter, *Esq;* Clerk of the Peace for the County of Middlesex. *Shaftsbury.*

Sir Edward Desbouverie, *Bart.*

Edward Nicholas, *Esq;* deceased. In his Place

Stephen Fox, *Esq;*

Wareham.

Sir Edward Ernie, *Bart.*

Joseph Galcoigne, *Esq;*

Corfe-Castle.

Dennis Bond, *Esq;* Letter-Carrier to the Government.

John Bankes, *Esq;*

Durham.

Sir John Eden, *Bart.*

John Hedworth, *Esq;*

Durham.

Thomas Conyers, *Esq;*

Charles Talbot, *Esq;* made his Majesty's Solicitor-General, and rechofe.

Esser.

William Harvey, *Esq;*

Robert Honywood, *Esq;*

Colchester.

Sir Thomas Webster, *Bart.*

Matthew Martin, *Esq;*

Malden.

Thomas Bramston, *Esq;*

John Comyns, *Serjeant at Law,* made a Baron of the Exchequer. In his Place

Henry Parsons, *Esq;* one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office. *Harwich.*

Sir Philip Parker, *Bart.*

Humphrey Parsons, *Esq;* Alderman of London.

Eleu.

A LIST of the second House of COMMONS,

Gloucestershire.

Henry Berkeley, Esq; second Brother of the Earl of Berkeley, Col. of the second Troop of Grenadier Guards, and Gentleman of the Horse to his Majesty.

Kinard de la Bere, Esq;
Gloucester.

Charles Hyett, Esq;

John Snell, Esq; deceased. In his Place

John How of Stowell, Esq;

Cirencester.

Thomas Masters, Esq;

Benjamin Bathurst, Esq; youngest Brother to the Lord Bathurst.

Tewksbury.

Thomas Gage, Lord Viscount Gage of Ireland.

George Read, Esq; Col. in the Foot Guards, and Brother of Sir Thomas Read, Bart.

Herefordshire.

Sir Edward Goodere Knt. and Bart.

Velters Cornwal, Esq;

Hereford.

Herbert Radhak Westfaling, Esq;

William Mayo, Esq; deceased. In his Place

James Walwyn, Esq;

Leominster.

Sir Archer Croft, Bart.

Sir George Caswall, Knt.

Weobly.

Nicholas Philpot, Esq;

John Birch, Serjeant at Law.

Hertfordshire.

Sir Thomas Saunders Sebright, Bart.

Ralph Freeman, Esq;

St. Albans.

William Gore, Esq;

William Clayton, Esq; made Auditor General to the Prince.

Hertford.

Charles Caesar, Esq; not duly elected. In his Place

Sir Thomas Clarke, Kt.

Edward Harrison, Esq; made one of the Post-Masters General. In his Place

George Harrison, Esq; Brother to the said Edward.

Huntingdonshire.

John Begg, of Eaton, Esq;

Edward Montague, Lord Viscount Hinchinbroke, only Son of the Earl of Sandwich, Col. of Foot, Lord Lieutenant of this County, deceased. In his Place

John Trobey, Esq;

Huntingdon.

Edward Wortley Montague, Esq;

Roger Handasyde, Esq; Col. of a Regiment of Foot.

Kent.

Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart.

Sir Thomas Twilden, Bart.

Canterbury.

Sir Thomas Hales, Bart.

Samuel Milles, Esq;

Rochester.

Sir John Jennings, Kt. Admiral of the White, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

Sir Thomas Palmer, Bart. deceased. In his Place

Sir Thomas Colby, Bart. one of the Commissioners of the Navy.

Maidstone.

Hon. John Finch, Esq; second Brother of the Earl of Aylesford.

Sir Thomas Colepepper, Bart. dec. In his Place

Sir Barnham Ryder, Kt.

Queenborough.

John Cope, Esq; Col. of the Guards.

James Littleton, Vice-Admiral of the White, dec. In his Place

David Lord Forbes, Son and Heir apparent of the Earl of Granard of Ireland.

Lancashire.

Sir John Bland, Bart.

Richard Shuttleworth, Esq;

Preston.

Thomas Hesketh, Esq;

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Daniel Pulteney, Esq; chose likewise in this Parliament for the Borough of Heydon in the County of York, made Clerk of the Council in Ireland, and rechose.

Lancaster.

Sir Thomas Lowther, Bart.

William Heysham, Esq; dec. In his Place

Charles Towers, Esq;

Newton.

Sir Francis Leicester, Bart.

William Shippen, Esq;

Wigan.

Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Bart.

Hon. James Barry, Earl of Barrymore, of Ireland.

Glithero.

Thomas Lister, Esq;

Nathaniel Curzon, Esq; youngest Brother of Sir John Curzon, Bart. Liverpool.

William Cleveland, Esq; dec. In his Place

Thomas Bootle, Esq;

Sir Thomas Johnson, Kt. made Collector of the Customs in Virginia. In his Place

Hon. Langham Booth, Esq; second Brother to the Earl of Warrington, one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber to the Prince. In his Place

Thomas Brereton, Esq;

Leicestershire.

Lord William Manners, only Brother of the Duke of Rutland, one of the Lords of Bed-chamber to the Prince.

Edmund Morris of Loddington, Esq;

Leicester.

Sir George Beaumont, Bart.

Sir Lawrence Carter, Kt. one of his Majesty's Serjeants at Law, and Solicitor General to the Prince, made one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer. In his Place

Thomas Boothby Scrimshire, Esq; Lincolnshire.

Henry Heron, Esq;

Sir William Maddingbeard, Bart. dec. In his Place

Rober Vyner, Esq;

Lincoln.

Sir John Tirwhit, Bart.

Sir Jn Monson, Bart. Kt. of the Bath. Boston.

Richard Ellis, Esq; only Son of Sir William Ellis, Bart.

Henry Lacey, Esq;

Great Grimby.

Charles Pelham, Esq;

Benjamin Collier, Esq;

Stamford.

Hon. Charles Bertie, Esq;

Hon. Brownlow Cecil, Esq, became Earl of Exeter. In his Place

William Noel, Esq; Deputy Recorder of the said Borough, Brother to Sir Clobberly Noel, Bart.

Grantbam.

John Brownlow, Lord Viscount Tyrconnel of Ireland, Kt. of Bath, and Bart.

Francis Fisher, Esq;

Middlesex.

Hon. James Bertie, Esq; second Brother to the Earl of Abingdon.

Sir John Austen, Bart.

Westminster.

Archibald Hutcheson, Esq; chose in this Parliament for the Port of Hastings.

John Cotton, Esq; Deputy Steward of the said City. Their Election declar'd void. In their Places

George Lord Carpenter, of Ireland, Governor of Minorca and Port-Mahon, Col. of a Regiment Dragoons.

Hon. Charles Montagu, Esq;

London.

Francis Child, Esq; Alderman of the said City.

Richard

A LIST of the second House of COMMONS,

Richard Lockwood, Esq;
John Barnard, Esq;
Peter Godfrey, Esq; *dec. In his Place*
Sir Richard Hopkins, Kt. Alderman
of the said City.

Donmouthshire.

Sir William Morgan, Kt. of the
Bath, chose likewise for the Town
of Brecon, Lord Lieutenant of the
said C. and of Brecon.

John Hanbury, Esq;
Monmouth.

Edward Keymeys, Esq;
Dorfolk.

Sir Thomas Coke, Kt. of the
Bath.

Thomas de Grey, Esq;
Norwich.

Waller Bacon, Esq; Commissary of
the Stores of War in the Island of
Minorca.

Robert Brittiffe, Esq;
Lyn-Regis.

Sir Robert Walpole Kt. of the Gar-
ter, Chancellor of the Exchequer,
and first Commissioner of the Treas-
ury; made principal Secretary of
State, during the Regency, and re-
chose. P. C.

Sir Charles Turner, Kt. one of the
Commissioners of the Treasury.
Great Yarmouth.

Hotatio Walpole, Esq; Auditor of
the Trade and Plantation Accounts,
and Secretary to the Treasury, made
Ambassador extraordinary to the
Court of France.

Hon. Charles Townshend, Esq; Son
and Heir apparent to the Lord Vis-
count Townshend, call'd up by a
Writ to the House of Peers. In his
Place

Hon. William Townshend, Esq; his
Brother, third Son of the aforesaid
Lord Viscount Townshend.

Thetford.

Sir Edmund Bacon, Bart.

Robert Jacombe, Esq; Deputy Pay-
master of the Forces.

Castlerising.

Charles Churchill, Esq; Brigadier
General of his Majesty's Forces,
Groom of the Bedchamber to the
Prince, Governor of the Town of
Plymouth, and Colonel of a Regi-
ment of Dragoons.

Hon. William Fielding, Esq; Uncle
to the Earl of Denbigh, one of the
Clerks Comptrollers of his Majesty's
Household, *dec. In his Place*

Algernoon Coothe, Earl of Mon-
trath of Ireland.

Northamptonshire.

Sir Justinian Isham, Bart.

Thomas Cartwright, Esq;
Peterborough.

John Fitz-Williams, Earl Fitz-Wil-
liams of Ireland.

Hon. Sidney Wortly Montague, Esq;
Uncle to the Earl of Sandwich.

Northampton.

Hon. Edward Montague, Esq; only
Brother to the Earl of Hallifax, Co-
lonel of a Regiment of Foot.

William Wilmer, Esq;
Brackley.

William Egerton, Esq; second Bro-
ther to the Duke of Bridgwater, Co-
lonel of a Regiment of Foot.

Sir Paul Methuen, Kt. of the Bath,
made Treasurer of his Majesty's
Household, and rechose. P. C.
Higham Ferrers.

Hon. Thomas Wentworth, Esq; se-
cond Brother of the Earl of Rock-
ingham, *dec. In his Place*

Hon. John Finch, Esq; third Son of
the Earl of Nottingham, Solicitor
General of the Prince, and one of
his Majesty's Council learned in the
Law.

Northumberland.

Sir William Middleton, Bart.

Algernoon Earl of Hertford, only
Son to the Duke of Somerset, Go-

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

- Governor of Tinmouth-Fort, Captain of the second Troop of Guards, and Lord Lieutenant of the C. of Suffex; call'd up to the House of Peers, and now Lord Piercy. In his Place*
 William Wrightson, Esq; not duly elected. *In his Place*
 Ralph Jenison, Esq;
Newcastle upon Tyne.
 Sir William Blacket, Bart.
 William Carr, Esq;
Morpeth.
 Henry Howard, Lord Viscount Morpeth, Son and Heir apparent to the Earl of Carlisle.
 George Carpenter, Esq; only Son of the Lord Carpenter of Ireland, Lieutenant Col. in his Majesty's Service.
Berwick upon Tweed.
 Grey Neville, Esq; deceased. *In his Place*
 Hon. William Kerr, Esq; Brother to the Duke of Roxburgh, Col. of Dragoons, and Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince.
 John Barrington Shute, Lord Viscount Barrington of Ireland, expelled the House for Promoting the fraudulent Undertaking, called The Harburgh Lottery. *In his Place*
 Henry Grey, Esq; Brother of Grey Neville, Esq;
Nottinghamshire.
 Hon. Emanuel Scroop How, Lord Viscount How of Ireland.
 Sir Robert Sutton, Kt. of the Bath.
P. C.
Nottingham.
 John Plumtree, Esq; Treasurer and Pay-Master of his Majesty's Ordinance.
 George Gregory, Esq; Storekeeper to the Ordinance.
East-Retford.
 Patrick Chaworth, Esq;
 Vol. III.
- Thomas White, Esq; Clerk of the Ordinance.
Newark upon Trent.
 Hon. Richard Sutton, Esq; Brigadier General of his Majesty's Armies, made one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth, and rechose, Envoy extraordinary to the King of Prussia.
 James Pelham, Esq; Secretary to the Duke of Grafton as Lord Chamberlain.
Oxon.
 Sir Robert Banks Jenkinson, Bart.
 Henry Perrot, Esq;
University of Oxford.
 William Bromley, Esq;
 George Clarke, L. L. D.
City of Oxon.
 Thomas Rowney, Jun. Esq;
 Sir John Walter, Bart. dec. *In his Place*
 Francis Knollys Esq;
New-Woodstock.
 Sam. Trotman Esq;
 Sir Thomas Wheat, Bart.
Banbury.
 Monoux Cope, Esq; Son of Sir John Cope, Bart.
Rutlandshire.
 Daniel Lord Finch, Son and Heir apparent to the Earl of Nottingham, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince. Made Comptroller of his Majesty's Household, and rechose. P. C.
 Sir Thomas Mackworth, Bart.
Salop County.
 John Kynaston, Esq;
 Robert Lloyd, Esq;
Salop.
 Corbett Kynaston, Esq; Son of the aforesaid.
 John Kynaston Esq;
 Richard Lyster, Esq; not duly elected.
In their Places
 Orlando Bridgman, Esq; Son of Sir John Bridgman, Bart.
 Sir Richard Corbett, Bart.
F *Bridgnorth.*

A LIST of the second House of COMMONS,

Bridgnorth.

John Weaver, Esq;
William Whitmore, Esq; dec. In his Place

St. John Charlton, Esq;

Ludlow.

Abel Ketelby, Esq; Recorder of the said Borough.

Acton Baldwin, Esq; deceased. In his Place

Richard Herbert, Esq; second Brother to Henry Arthur Herbert, Esq;

Great Wenlock.

Sir Humphrey Briggs Bart.

Samuel Edwards Esq; one of the Deputy Tellers of the Exchequer.

Bishop's-Castle.

William-Peere Williams, Esq; Barrister at Law.

Bowater Vernon, Esq; not duly elected. In his Place

Charles Mafon, Esq;

Somersetshire.

Sir William Wyndham, Bart.

Edward Philipps, Esq;

Bristol.

Joseph Erle, Esq;

Sir Abraham Elton, Bart. Alderman of the City.

Barb.

John Codrington, Esq;

George Wade, Esq; Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces, and Colonel of a Regiment of Horse.

Wells.

Thomas Edwards, Jun. Esq;

Francis Gwynn, Esq; chose last and likewise in this Parl. for the Borough of Christ-Church, in the C. of Southampton.

Taunton.

John Smith, Esq;

John Trenchard, Esq; dec. In his Place

Abraham Elton, Esq; eldest Son of Sir

Abraham Elton, Bart.

Bridgwater.

Thomas Palmer, Esq;

George Doddington, Esq; chose likewise for the Town and Port of Winchelsea, Lord Lieutenant of the C. of Somerset, made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and rechose.

Minehead.

Thomas Hales, Esq; one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth to the Prince, Son of Sir Thomas Hales, Bart.

Hon. Robert Mansel, Esq; Son and Heir apparent to the Lord Mansel, dec. In his Place

Francis Whitworth Esq; Brother to the late Lord Whitworth.

Iwelchester.

Daniel Moore, Esq;

William Boroughs, Esq; made Auditor of the Accounts of the Duties on Leather. In his Place

Thomas Paget, Esq; one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to the Prince.

Adlbourn Port.

George Speak, Esq;

Michael Harvey, Esq;

Southampton.

Lord Harry Powlet, Brother of the Duke of Bolton.

Lord Nassau Powlet, Kt. of the Bath, youngest Brother to the Duke of Bolton, made Auditor of the Exchequer in the Kingdom of Ireland, and rechose.

Winchester.

Lord William Powlet, Uncle to the Duke of Bolton; one of the Tellers of the Exchequer.

George Bridges Esq;

Southampton.

Thomas Lewis, Esq;

Thomas Miissing, Esq; Provocitor General for the Garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon.

Portsmouth.

Sir John Norris, Kt. Admiral of the Blue, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty,

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Admiralty, and Deputy-Governor of Dover-Castle.

Sir Charles Wager, *Kt. Vice-Admiral of the Red, and one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty.*
Tarmouth.

Anthony Morgan, *Esq; Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight.*

Thomas Stanwix, *Esq; Brigadier-General of his Majesty's Forces, Governor of Kingston upon Hull, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot; dec. In his Place*

Maurice Morgan, *Esq; Son of the aforesaid Anthony Morgan, Esq; Colonel in the third Regiment of Guards.*

Petersfield.

Norton Powlet *Esq;*

Edmond Miller, *Serjeant at Law, made one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland. In his Place*

Joseph Taylor *Esq; one of the Clerks of the Hospital of Bridewell; not duly elected. In his Place*

Edmond Miller, *Esq; aforesaid.*
Newport.

Charles Earl of March, *Son and Heir apparent of the Duke of Richmond; made his Election for the City of Chichester. In his Place*

Charles Cadogan, *Esq; only Brother of the Earl Cadogan, Col. of a Regiment of Foot; became Lord Cadogan. In his Place*

Sir William Willis, *Bart.*

Charles Whitworth, *Baron of Gallway in Ireland, his Majesty's Ambassador and Plenipotentiary for the Congress at Cambray, dec. In his Place*

George Huxley, *Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office.*
Stockbridge.

John Chetwynd *Esq; second Brother of the Lord Viscount Chetwynd; one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.*

Col. Martin Bladen, *Comptroller of the Mint, and one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.*

New-town.

Charles Worley, *Esq;*
William Stephens, *Esq;*
Christ-Church.

Francis Gwyn *Esq; made his Election for the City of Wells. In his Place*

Edward Prideaux Gwyn, *Esq; Son of the aforesaid Francis Gwyn, Esq;*
Sir Peter Mews, *Kt. Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester, dec. In his Place*

Jacob Banks, *Esq;*
Lymington.

Paul Burrard, *Esq;*
Lord Harry Powlet, *Brother of the Duke of Bolton; made his Election for this County. In his Place*

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, *Kt. Alderman of London.*

Whitechurch.

John Conduit *Esq; made Master and Worker of his Majesty's Mint, and rechose.*

Thomas Vernon, *Esq; dec. In his Place*

Thomas Farrington, *Esq;*
Andover.

William Guidott, *Esq;*
Hon. James Brudenel, *Esq; Master of the Jewel-Office, only Brother to the Earl of Cardigan.*

Staffordshire.

Thomas Lord Paget, *Son and Heir apparent of the Earl of Uxbridge, one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber to the Prince.*

Hon. William Lefeson Gower, *Esq;*
second Brother to the Lord Gower.
Lichfield.

Richard Plummer, *Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.*

Walter Chetwynd *Esq; Pay-master of divers annual Bounties and Pensions.*

A List of the second House of Commons,

<i>Stafford.</i>	John Sambroke, <i>Esq;</i>
Thomas Foley, <i>Esq;</i> one of the Auditors of the Imprest.	<i>Orford.</i>
John Dolphin, <i>Esq;</i> deceased. In his Place	Dudley North, <i>Esq;</i>
Francis Elde, <i>Esq;</i> one of the Masters in Chancery, not duly elected. In his Place	William Acton, <i>Esq;</i>
Walter Chetwynd, <i>Ld Viscount Chetwynd of Ireland, Chief Ranger of of St. James's Park.</i>	<i>Aldborough.</i>
<i>Newcastle under Line.</i>	Samuel Lowe, <i>Esq;</i> Comptroller of the Ordnance in Ireland.
Hon. Thomas Leveson Gower, <i>Esq;</i> third Brother of the Lord Gower.	Walter Plomer, <i>Esq;</i>
Sir Bryan Broughton, <i>Bart. Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, dec. In his Place</i>	<i>Sudbury.</i>
Sir Walter Wagstaffe Bagot, <i>Bart. Tamworth.</i>	Col. William Wyndham, made Lieutenant Governor of the Royal Hospital of Chelsea, and rechose
Hon. Francis Willoughby, <i>Esq;</i> Son and Heir apparent to the Lord Middleton.	John Knight, <i>Esq;</i>
Samuel Bracebridge, <i>Esq;</i> not duly elected. In his Place	<i>Eye.</i>
Richard Swinsfen, <i>Esq;</i> one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy-Chamber, dec. In his Place	Edward Hopkins, <i>Esq;</i> one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland; made Master of the Revels in the said Kingdom, and rechose.
Hon. George Compton, <i>Esq;</i> Brother of the Earl of Northampton.	Right Hon. Sir Spencer Compton, <i>Kt. of the Bath, made his Election for the said County. In his Place</i>
<i>Suffolk.</i>	Hon. James Cornwallis, <i>Esq;</i> second Brother of the Lord Cornwallis.
Sir Thomas Hanmer, <i>Bart.</i>	<i>St. Edmundsbury.</i>
Sir Robert Davers, <i>Bart. dec. In his Place</i>	Sir Jermyn Davers, <i>Bart.</i>
Sir William Barker, <i>Bart. Ipswich.</i>	James Reynolds <i>Esq;</i> Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of the said Borough; made one of the Justices of the Court of the King's Bench. In his Place
Sir William Thompson, <i>Kt. Recorder of London, made Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, and rechose.</i>	John Lord Hervey, Son and Heir apparent of the Earl of Bristol.
Francis Negus <i>Esq;</i> Commissioner for executing the Office of Master of the Horse.	<i>Surrey.</i>
<i>Dunwich.</i>	John Walter <i>Esq;</i>
Sir George Downing, <i>Bart.</i>	Sir Nicholas Carew, <i>Bart. dec. In his Place</i>
Edward Vernon, <i>Esq;</i> made his Election for the Borough of Penryn in the C. of Cornwall. In his Place	Thomas Scawen, <i>Esq;</i>
Sir John Ward, <i>Kt. and Alderman, dec. In his Place</i>	<i>Southwark.</i>
	Edmond Halley, <i>Esq;</i>
	George Meggot, <i>Esq;</i> deceased. In his Place
	John Ladd, <i>Esq;</i>
	<i>Blechingly.</i>
	William Clayton, <i>Esq;</i>
	George Evelin, <i>Esq;</i> one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth to the Prince of Wales, dec. In his Place
	Henry Arthur Herbert, <i>Esq;</i>
	<i>Ryegate.</i>

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

- Ryegate.*
 Sir Joseph Jekyll, *Kt. Master of the Rolls, and since made first Commissioner of the Great Seal of Great-Britain, and rechose. P. C.*
 James Cocks, *Esq; Guildford.*
 Thomas Broderick *Esq; Brother of the Lord Viscount Middleton.*
 Arthur Onslow, *Esq; Recorder of the said Borough.*
Garton.
 William Newland, *Esq;*
 Paul Docminique, *Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.*
Haslemere.
 James Oglethorp, *Esq;*
 Peter Burrell, *Esq; Suffer.*
 Right Hon. Sir Spencer Compton, *Kt. of the Bath, Uncle of the Earl of Northampton, SPEAKER, Treasurer to the Prince, Pay-master General of his Majesty's Forces, and of Chelsea-College.*
 Henry Pelham, *Esq; only Brother to the Duke of Newcastle, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury; made Secretary at War, and rechose. P. C.*
Chichester.
 Sir Thomas Miller, *Bart.*
 Charles Lenos, *Earl of March, became Duke of Richmond, chose likewise for Newport, in the C. of Southampton. In his Place*
 Lord William Beauclair, *first Brother to the Duke of St. Albans.*
Horsbam.
 Charles Eversfield *Esq;*
 Hon. Henry Ingram, *Esq; Brother of the Lord Viscount Irwin.*
Midhurst.
 Alan Broderick, *Viscount Middleton of Ireland.*
 Bullitrode Peachy Knight, *Esq; Lewes.*
 Thomas Pelham, *Esq; one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.*
- Henry Pelham, Esq; deceased. In his Place*
 Sir Nicholas Pelham, *Kt. New-Shoreham*
 Sir Nathaniel Gould, *Kt. Governour of the Muscovy Company.*
 Francis Chamberlain, *Esq; Bramber.*
 Sir Richard Gough, *Kt.*
 William Charles Vanhulse, *Esq; Clerk Comptroller of the King's Robes, dec. In his Place*
 David Polhill, *Esq; Steyning.*
 John Gumley *Esq; made Commissary-General of the Forces, and rechose.*
 Major General John Pepper, *Coll. of Dragoons, and Ranger of the Forest of Epping. dec. In his Place*
 John Bridges, *Marquis of Caernarvon, Son and Heir apparent to the Duke of Chandos, deceased. In his Place*
 Hon. William Stanhope, *Esq; late Ambassador in Spain, made Vice-Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household.*
East-Grinstead.
 Rt. Hon. Sir Spencer Compton, *Kt. of the Bath, made his Election for this C. In his Place*
 Richard Boyle, *Lord Viscount Shannon of Ireland, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Forces, and Col. of Horse.*
 John Conyers, *Esq; one of his Majesty's Council at Law, dec. In his Place*
 Edward Conyers, *Esq; Arundel.*
 Hon. Sir Thomas Lumley-Saunderson, *Kt. of the Bath, second Brother of the Earl of Scarborough.*
 Joseph Micklethwait, *Esq; created Viscount Micklethwait of Ireland.*
Warwickshire.
 William Peytoe, *Esq;*
 Hon. Robert Digby, *Esq; second Son*

A LIST of the second House of COMMONS,

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| <p>to William Lord Digby of Ireland,
deceased. In his Place
Edward Digby, Esq; third Son of the
Lord Digby.
<i>Coventry.</i>
Sir Adolphus Oughton, Knt. and
Bart. Lieutenant Colonel of the se-
cond Regiment of Foot Guards.
John Neale, Esq; Comptroller of the
Household to the young Princesses.
Their Elections declared void,
and afterwards rechose.
<i>Warwick.</i>
Hon. Doddington Greville, Esq; third
Son of Fulk, late Lord Brook.
Sir William Colemore, jun. Esq;
deceased. In his Place
Sir William Keyt, Bart.
<i>Westmorland.</i>
Hon. James Grahme, Brother to Ri-
chard late Lord Viscount Preston.
Hon. Anthony Lowther, Esq; only
Brother to the Lord Viscount Lons-
dale; made one of the Commissioners
of the Revenue in Ireland, and re-
chose.
<i>Asulby.</i>
Hon. Sackville Tufton, Esq; Nephew
to the Earl of Thanet.
Sir Richard Sandford, Bart. late
Warden of the Mint, deceased. In
his Place
James Lowther, Esq; chose last Par-
liament for the County of Cumber-
land.
<i>Wiltshire.</i>
Sir Richard How, Bart.
Robert Hyde, Esq; deceased. In his
Place
Richard Goddard, Esq;
<i>New Sarum.</i>
Anthony Duncomb, Esq;
Francis Kenton, Esq;
<i>Wilton.</i>
Hon. Robert Sawyer Herbert, Esq;
second Son of the Earl of Pembroke,
made one of the Grooms of his Ma-
jesty's Bed-chamber, and rechose.
Thomas Pitt, Earl of Londonderry</p> | <p>in the Kingdom of Ireland, Colonel
of a Regiment of Foot, made Go-
vernor of the Leeward Islands,
Downton.
Hon. John Verney, Esq; youngest Son
to the Lord Willoughby, made one
of the Welsh Judges, and rechose.
Giles Eyre, Esq;
<i>Hindon.</i>
Henry Ludlow Coker, Esq;
Robert Gray, Esq;
<i>Hewesbury.</i>
Edward Ash, Esq; one of the Commis-
sioners of Trade and Plantations.
Pierce a Court, Esq; deceased. In his
Place
Lord Charles Cavendish, third Son of
the Duke of Devonshire.
<i>Westbury.</i>
Francis Annesley, Esq;
Hon. James Bertie, Esq; Brother
to the Earl of Abingdon, made
his Election for the County of Mid-
dlesex. In his Place
George Evans, Baron of Carbery in
Ireland.
<i>Calne.</i>
Benjamin Haskins Styles, Esq; made
his Election for Devizes. In his
Place
Edmund Heath, Esq;
George Duckett, Esq; made one of the
Commissioners of the Excise. In his
Place
Hon. Matthew Ducie Morton, Esq;
Son and Heir Apparent of the Lord
Ducie de Morton.
<i>Devizes.</i>
Sir Joseph Eyles, Knt. Brother of
Sir John Eyles, Bart.
Benjamin Haskins Styles, Esq; chose
likewise for the Borough of Calne.
<i>Chippenham.</i>
Sir John Eyles, Bart. Alderman of
the City of London, and Sub-Gov-
ernor of the South-Sea Company.
Edward Rolt, Esq; deceased. In his
Place
Thomas Boucher, Esq;</p> |
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Malmesbury.

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Malmesbury.

Sir John Rushout *Bart.*

Trevor Hill, *Lord Viscount Hillborough of Ireland, not duly elected. In his Place*

Giles Erle, *Esq;* Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, and one of the Clerks Comptrollers of his Majesty's Household.

John Fermot, *Esq;* deceased. *In his Place*

Charles Stewart, *Esq;* late Envoy to the Emperor of Morocco.

Cricklade.

Sir Thomas Read, *Bart.* Gentleman of his Majesty's Privy-Chamber, and one of the Clerks of the Green-cloth to the Prince.

Thomas Gore, *Esq;* Lord of the Manor of the said Borough.

Great-Bedwin.

Hon. Robert Bruce, *Esq;* second Brother of the Earl of Ailesbury.

Charles Longueville, *Esq;*
Ludgershal.

Borlace Richmond Webb, *Esq;* Son of the late Lieutenant Gen. Webb

Lieut. Gen. John Richmond Webb, late Governor of the Isle of Wight, deceased. *In his Place*

Anthony Cornish, *Esq;*
Old-Sarum.

Thomas Pitt, *Esq;* deceased. *In his Place*

George Pitt, *Esq;*

Robert Pitt, *Esq;* eldest Son of Thomas Pitt, *Esq;* made his Election for Okehampton. *In his Place*

George Moreton Pitt, *Esq;* made Register of the Revenue of the Excise. *In his Place*

John Pitt, *Esq;* Col. in the Guards, third Brother of Robert Pitt, *Esq;*
Watton-Basset.

Hon. Robert Murray, *Esq;* Brother of the Earl of Dunmore, Col. of a Regiment of Foot.

William Chetwynd, *Esq;*

Marlborough.

Gabriel Roberts, *Esq;*

Algernoon, Earl of Hertford, only Son to the Duke of Somerset, made his Election for the County of Northumberland. *In his Place*

Thomas Gibson, *Esq;* Money Scrivener of London.

Worcestershire.

Sir John Packington, *Bart.*

Sir Thomas Littleton, *Bart.*

Worcester.

Thomas Wylde, *Esq;* one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland.

Samuel Sandys, *Esq;*

Droitwich.

Richard Foley, *Esq;* Brother to the Lord Foley, one of the Prothonotaries of Common-Pleas.

Edward Winnington Jeffereys, *Esq;* one of the Welch Judges, dec. *In his Place*

Thomas Winnington, *Esq;*
Evesham.

John Rudge, *Esq;* Deputy-Governor of the South-Sea Company.

Sir John Rushout, *Bart.*

Bewdley.

Crew Offley, *Esq;* one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.

Worcestershire.

Henry Dawney, Lord-Viscount Down of Ireland, and *Bart.*

Sir Arthur Kay, *Bart.* deceased. *In his Place*

Cholmondeley Turner, *Esq;*
Yark.

Sir William Milner, *Bart.*

Edward Thompson, *Esq;* made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, and recd. for.

Kingston upon Hull.

Nathaniel Rogers, *Esq;*

Sir William St. Quintin, *Bart.* Vice-Treasurer, Receiver-General, and Paymaster-General of Ireland, deceased. *In his Place*

George

A LIST of the second House of COMMONS,

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| <p>George Crowle, Esq;
<i>Knarborough.</i></p> <p>Hon. Richard Arundel, Esq; Uncle to the Lord Arundel, of Trerice, made Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Works, and rechose.</p> <p>Sir Henry Slingsby, Bart.
<i>Scarborough.</i></p> <p>Sir William Strickland, Bart. made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and rechose.</p> <p>John Hungerford, Esq; Cursitor of Yorkshire and Westmorland.
<i>Rippon.</i></p> <p>John Scrope, Esq; one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, made Coadjutor-Secretary to the Treasury with Horatio Walpole, Esq; and rechose.</p> <p>William Aislabbie, Esq; Son of John Aislabbie, Esq;
<i>Richmond.</i></p> <p>John York, Esq;
Hon. Sir Conyers D'Arcy, Knight of the Bath, Uncle to the Right Hon. the Earl of Holderness, Master of his Majesty's Household, and Lord Lieutenant of the North-Riding of this County.
<i>Heydon.</i></p> <p>William Pulteney, Esq; Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of this County, made Cofferer to his Majesty's Household, and rechose; and now Ranger of the Forest of Epping. P.C.</p> <p>Daniel Pulteney, Esq; made his Election for the Borough of Preston. In his Place</p> <p>Harry Pulteney, Esq; Colonel in the Guards, Brother of the aforesaid William Pulteney, Esq;
<i>Borough Bridge.</i></p> <p>James Tyrrel, Esq;
Hon. Sir Conyers D'Arcy, Kt. of the Bath, made his Election for the Borough of Richmond, in this County. In his Place</p> | <p>Joseph Danvers, Esq;
<i>Malton.</i></p> <p>Sir Thomas Watson Wentworth, Knt. of the Bath.</p> <p>Sir William Strickland, Bart. his Majesty's Commissary General of the Musters, deceased. In his Place</p> <p>Hon. Henry Finch, Esq; fourth Son of the Earl of Nottingham.
<i>Tbirisk.</i></p> <p>Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart. made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, and rechose.</p> <p>Sir William St. Quintin, Bart.
<i>Aldborough.</i></p> <p>William Jessop, Esq; one of the chief Justices of Wales, one of the Commissioners, and Receiver-General of the Alienation Office.</p> <p>Charles Stanhope, Esq; his Majesty's Treasurer of the Chamber.
<i>Beverly.</i></p> <p>Sir Michael Newton, Knt. of the Bath, Son of Sir John Newton, Bart.</p> <p>Sir Charles Hotham, Bart. Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons, deceased. In his Place</p> <p>Sir Charles Hotham, Bart. Son and Heir of the aforesaid Sir Charles.
<i>Northallerton.</i></p> <p>Leonard Smelt, Esq; Clerk of the Deliveries of the Ordnance, and Secretary to the Master General thereof.</p> <p>Henry Peirse, Esq;
<i>Pontefract.</i></p> <p>Sir William Lowther, Bart.</p> <p>John Lowther, Esq;</p> |
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- Barons of the CINQUE PORTS.
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| <p><i>Hastings.</i></p> <p>Archibald Hutcheson, Esq;</p> <p>Sir William Ashburnham, Bart. one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, and one of the Commissioners of Alienation.
<i>Dover.</i></p> | |
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After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Dover.

George Berkeley, *Esq*; youngest Brother of the Earl of Berkeley, made Master of the Hospital of St. Katherine's near the Tower, and rechose.

Henry Furnese, *Esq*;

Sandwich.

Sir George Oxenden, *Bart.* made one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and rechose.

Josiah Burchett, *Esq*; Secretary to the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Hythe.

Sir Samuel Lennard, *Knt. and Bart.* Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the second Troop of Guards.

Hercules Baker, *Esq*;

New-Romney.

Sir Robert Furnese, *Bart.*

David Papillon, *Esq*;

Rye.

Henry, Lord Aylmer, Baron Batrach, of Ireland.

Philip Gibbon, *Esq*; made Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Land Revenue, and rechose.

Winchelsea.

Robert Bristow, *Esq*; Clerk-Comptroller of his Majesty's Household.

George Doddington, *Esq*; made his Election for Bridgwater. In his Place

Hon. Thomas Townshend, *Esq*; second Son of the Lord Viscount Townshend.

Seaford.

Sir William Gage, *Knt. of the Bath, and Bart.*

Sir Philip Yorke, *Knt. his Majesty's Solicitor-General*; made since his Majesty's Attorney-General, and rechose.

W A L E S.

Anglesea.

Richard Bulkeley, Lord Viscount Cashel, of Ireland, deceased. In his Place

Hugh Williams, *Esq*;

Beaumaris.

Hon. Henry Bertie, *Esq*; third Brother to the Earl of Abingdon.

Brecon.

William-Gwynn Vaughan, *Esq*;

Brecon.

Sir William Morgan, *Knt. of the Bath, made his Election for the said County. In his Place*

Thomas Morgan, *Esq*; only Brother of the aforesaid Sir William Morgan.

Cardigan.

Francis Cornwallis, *Esq*;

Cardigan.

Stephen Parry, *Esq*; deceased. In his Place

Thomas Powell, *Esq*;

Carmarthen.

Edward Rice, *Esq*; not duly elected. In his Place

Sir Nicholas Williams, *Bart.*

Carmarthen.

Richard Vaughan, *Esq*; one of the Welsh Judges, deceased. In his Place

James Phillips, *Esq*;

Carnarvon.

John Griffith, *Esq*;

Carnarvon.

Thomas Wynne, *Esq*; Clerk of the Greencloth to the Prince.

Denbigh.

Watkin-Williams Wynne, *Esq*;

Denbigh.

Robert Myddelton, *Esq*;

Flint.

Sir Roger Mostyn, *Bart.*

Flint.

Thomas Eyton, *Esq*;

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A LIST of the second House of COMMONS,

Glamorgan.
Sir Charles Keymis, *Bart.*
Cardiffe.

Edward Stradling, *Esq;* Son of Sir
Edward Stradling, *Bart.* deceased.
In his Place

Hon. Bussy Mansell, *Esq;* Uncle of
the Lord Mansell.
Merioneth.

Richard Vaughan of Korfygedol, in
this County, *Esq;*

Montgomery.
Hon. Price Devereux, *Esq;* Son and
Heir Apparent of the Lord Viscount
Hereford.

Montgomery.
John Pugh, of Mathafarne, *Esq;*
Pembroke.

Sir Arthur Owen, *Bart.* Lord Lieu-
tenant of the said County.
Pembroke.

Thomas Ferrers, *Esq;* Brigadier Ge-
neral of his Majesty's Forces, and
Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, de-
ceased. *In his Place*

William Owen, *Esq;* eldest Son of the
aforesaid Sir Arthur Owen, *Bart.*
Haverford-West.

Francis Edwards, *Esq;* deceased. *In*
his Place

Erasmus Philipps, Son and Heir of
Sir John Philipps, *Bart.*
Radnor.

Sir Humphrey Howarth, *Knt.*
New Radnor.

Thomas Lewis, *Esq;*

SCOTLAND.

Shire of Aberdeen.
Archibald Grant, *Esq;*

Shire of Air.
John Montgomery, *Esq;*

Shire of Argyle.
Sir James Campbell, *Bart.*

Shire of Bamff.
Alexander Abercromby, *Esq;*

Shire of Berwick.
George Bailie, *Esq;*

Shire of Bute and Cathness.
Colonel Patrick Campbell.

Shires of Nairn and Cromartie.
John Forbes, *Esq;*

Shire of Dumbarton.
Mungo Haldane, *Esq;* not duly elect-
ed. *In his Place*

Hon. John Campbell, *Esq;* Surveyor
of the King's Works in Scotland.

Shire of Dumfries.
Charles Areskine, *Esq;* made Solicitor
General for Scotland, and re-
chose.

Shire of Edinburgh.
Robert Dundas, *Esq;*

Shire of Elgin.
Alexander Brodie, *Esq;*

Shire of Fife.
Sir John Anstruther, *Bart.* Master
of his Majesty's Works in Scot-
land.

Shire of Forfar.
James Scot, Jun. *Esq;*

Shire of Haddington.
John Cockburn, *Esq;* one of the Com-
missioners of the Admiralty, eldest
Son of the Lord Justice Clerk of
Scotland.

Shire of Inverness.
James Grant, *Esq;*

Shire of Kincardin.
James Scott, *Esq;* Lieutenant Colonel
of the third Regiment of Foot
Guards.

Shires of Kingrofs and Clacmanan.
Sir John Shaw, *Bart.*

Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.
Alexander Murray, *Esq;*

Shire of Lanerk.
Lord Archibald Hamilton, Uncle to
the Duke of Hamilton.

Shire of Linlithgow.
George Dundas, *Esq;*

Shire of Orkney and Zetland.
George Douglass, *Esq;* only Brother
of the Earl of Moreton.

Shire

After the Accession of King GEORGE I.

<i>Shire of Peebles.</i>	<i>the Lords of the Session. In his</i>
<i>Hon. John Douglass, Esq;</i>	<i>Room</i>
<i>Shire of Perth.</i>	<i>Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.</i>
<i>Lord James Murray, now Duke of</i>	<i>Shire of Selkirk.</i>
<i>Athol. In his Place</i>	<i>John Pringle, Esq;</i>
<i>David Grahme, Esq; deceased. In his</i>	<i>Shire of Stirling.</i>
<i>Place</i>	<i>John Grahme, jun. Esq;</i>
<i>Mungo Haldane, Esq; chose before in</i>	<i>Shire of Sutherland.</i>
<i>this Parliament for the Shire of</i>	<i>Sir William Gordon, Bart.</i>
<i>Dumbarton.</i>	<i>Shire of Wigtoun.</i>
<i>Shire of Renfrew.</i>	<i>Hon. John Stuart, Esq; Brigadier-Ge-</i>
<i>Major Thomas Cockrane.</i>	<i>neral of his Majesty's Forces, and</i>
<i>Shire of Ross.</i>	<i>Brother of the Earl of Galloway.</i>
<i>Alexander Urquhart, Esq;</i>	<i>City of Edinburgh.</i>
<i>Shire of Roxburgh.</i>	<i>John Campbell, Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. made one of</i>	

<i>Burghs of</i>	<i>Kirkwall</i>	<i>Robert Monro, Esq;</i>
	<i>Week</i>	
	<i>Dornock</i>	
	<i>Dingwall</i>	
	<i>Taine</i>	
<i>Burghs of</i>	<i>Fortrose</i>	<i>Alexander Gordon, Esq; not duly return-</i>
	<i>Inverness</i>	<i>ed. In his Place</i>
	<i>Nairn</i>	<i>Duncan Forbes, Esq; made Lord Advocate</i>
	<i>Fotref</i>	<i>of the College of Justice, and rechose.</i>
	<i>Elgin</i>	<i>Hon. William Frazer, Esq; Brother to the</i>
<i>Burghs of</i>	<i>Cullen</i>	<i>Lord Salton, not duly elected. In his Place</i>
	<i>Bamff</i>	<i>John Campbell, jun. Esq; Groom of the</i>
	<i>Inverury</i>	<i>Bed-chamber to the Prince, and Capt. in</i>
	<i>Kintore</i>	<i>the Foot-Guards.</i>
<i>Burghs of</i>	<i>Aberdeen</i>	<i>Hon. William Kerr, Esq; Brother to the Duke of</i>
	<i>Inverbervy</i>	<i>Roxburgh, Colonel of Dragoons, and Groom of</i>
	<i>Montrose</i>	<i>the Bed-chamber to the Prince, chose last Par-</i>
	<i>Aberbrothock</i>	<i>liament for the Burghs of Dysert, &c. not</i>
	<i>Brichene</i>	<i>duly returned. In his Place</i>
	<i>Forfar</i>	<i>John Middleton, Esq; Col of Foot, and Deputy</i>
<i>Burghs of</i>	<i>Perth</i>	<i>Governor of Tinmouth Fort.</i>
	<i>Dundee</i>	<i>Hon. Charles Leslie, Esq; one of</i>
	<i>Coupar</i>	<i>the Brothers of the E. of Rothes,</i>
	<i>St. Andrews</i>	<i>his Indenture taken off the File. D.R.</i>
	<i>Craill</i>	<i>William Erskine, Esq;</i>
<i>Burghs of</i>	<i>Kilrennie</i>	<i>David Scot, Esq; his Indenture</i>
	<i>Anstruther Easter</i>	<i>taken off the File. D.R.</i>
	<i>Anstruther Wester</i>	<i>Philip Anstruther of Ardie, Esq;</i>
	<i>Pettenweem</i>	<i>Colonel in the Foot Guards.</i>

A LIST of the second House of COMMONS,

<i>Burghs of</i>	Dysert	{	<i>Hon. Thomas Leslie, Esq; Brother of the Earl of Rothes, not duly returned. In his Place</i>
	Kirkaldie		<i>Hon. James Sinclair, Esq; second Son of the Lord Sinclair, Major in the third Regiment of Foot Guards.</i>
	Kinghorne		
	Burntisland		
<i>Burghs of</i>	Inverkithen	{	<i>Henry Cunningham, jun, Esq; Commissary General of the Musters in Scotland.</i>
	Dunfermline		
	Queensferry		
	Culcross		
<i>Burghs of</i>	Stirling	{	<i>Daniel Campbel, Esq;</i>
	Glasgow		
	Renfrew		
	Rutherglen		
<i>Burghs of</i>	Dumbarton	{	<i>Sir James Dalrymple, Bart. Auditor General in Scotland.</i>
	Haddington		
	Dunbarr		
	North Berwick		
<i>Burghs of</i>	Lauder	{	<i>Daniel Weir, Esq; deceased. In his Place</i>
	Jedburgh		
	Selkirk		
	Peebles		
<i>Burghs of</i>	Linlithgow	{	<i>— Murray, Esq;</i>
	Lanerk		
	Dumfries		
	Sanquhar		
<i>Burghs of</i>	Annan	{	<i>William Douglass, Esq;</i>
	Lockmaben		
	Kirkcudbright		
	Wigtoun		
<i>Burghs of</i>	New Galloway	{	<i>Hon. William Dalrymple, Esq; Colonel of the Foot Guards, second Brother to the Earl of Stair.</i>
	Stranraver		
	Whitehorn		
	Air		
<i>Burghs of</i>	Irvin	{	<i>William Stuart, Esq;</i>
	Rothefay		
	Campbeltoun		
	Inverary	}	

A N E X A C T L I S T O F T H E

Knights and Commissioners of Shires,
Citizens and Burgesſes, of the first
Parliament of King GEORGE II. ſum-
moned to meet at *Westminster* on the
23d of *January*, 1727-8.

Bedfordshire.

SIR Rowland Alton, *Bart.*
Hon. Pattee Byng, Esq; ſucceed-
ed his Father as Viſcount Torrington. *In his Place*

Charles Leigh, *Esq;*
Bedford.

James Metcalf, *Esq; deceased.* *In*
his Place

Sir Jer. Van Sambroke, *Bart.*

John Orlebar, *Esq;*

Berkshire.

Sir John Stonehouse, *Bart.*

Robert Packer, *Esq; deceased.* *In*
his Place

Winchcomb Howard Packer, *Esq;*
Son to Robert Packer, Esq;

New Windsor.

Lord Vere Beauclerc, *Lord Viſcount*
Malpas, Knt. of the Bath; Son to
the Earl of Cholmondeley, a
Commissioner of the Admiralty, and
Governor of Cheſter.

Reading.

Richard Thompson, *Esq;*

Richard Pottinger, *Esq; Recorder of*
this Borough.

Wallingford.

William Hucks, *Esq;*

George Lewen, *Esq;*

Abington.

Robert Hucks, *Esq; Son to William*
Hucks, Esq; and a Trustee for the
Colony of Georgia.

Buckinghamshire.

Richard Hampden, *Esq; deceased.*
In his Place

Sir William Stanhope, *Knt. of the*
Bath, Brother to the Earl of Cheſ-
terfield.

Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*

Buckingham.

Col. John Fane, *Brother to the Earl*
of Westmoreland, and Col. of the
first Troop of Grenadier-Guards,
made Lord Catherlogh.

George Chamberlayne, *Esq;*

Chipping Wicomb.

William Lee, *Esq; Latin Secretary,*
one of the King's Council at Law,
and Attorney-General to the Prince,
made a Judge. In his Place

Sir Charles Vernon, *Knt.*

Harry Waller, *Esq;*

Aylesbury.

Edward Rudge, *Esq; Son of John*
Rudge, Esq; Deputy-Governor of
the South-Sea Company.

Thomas Ingoldesby, *Esq;*

Agmon-

A List of the first House of Commons,

<i>Agmondesham.</i>	County.
Montagu Garrard Drake, Esq; deceased. In his Place	Sir William Carew, Bart.
Marmaduke Allington, Esq;	Sir John St. Aubin, Bart.
Thomas Lutwyche, Esq; one of his Majesty's Council at Law.	Launceston.
<i>Wendover.</i>	Hon. John King, Esq; Son to Lord-Chancellor King, Out-ranger and Verdurer of Windsor-Forest.
Lord Viscount Limerick, of Ireland, one of the Trustees for the County of Georgia.	Arthur Tremayne, Esq;
Ric. Hampden, Esq; dec. In his Place	Lestard.
John Hamilton, Esq;	Thomas Clutterbuck, Esq;
<i>Great-Marlow.</i>	John Cope, Esq; Lieutenant-Colonel of the second Troop of Grenadier-Guards.
Edmund Wallis, Esq;	Lestwitbiel.
John Clavering, Esq; made Groom of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty. In his Place	Sir Orlando Bridgman, Bart. deceased. In his Place
George Robinson, Esq; expelled the House on account of the Charitable Corporation, [See Vol. II p. 241.] In his Place	Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. dec. In his Place
Sir Thomas Hoby, Bart.	Anthony Cracherode, Esq; Solicitor to the Treasury
<i>Cambridgeshire.</i>	Dorrel Trelawney, Esq; deceased. In his Place
Henry Bromley, Esq; Lord-Lieutenant of the County	Edward Walpole, Esq; Joint-Secretary of the Treasury, and Collector Inwards of the Customs, and second Son of Sir Robert Walpole.
Samuel Sheppard, Esq;	Truroe.
University of Cambridge.	Hon. Hugh Boscawen, Esq; Son to the Lord Viscount Falmouth.
Hon. Edward Finch, Esq; Brother to the Earl of Winchelsea, and Plenipotentiary to the King of Poland	Sidney Meadows, Esq; Son to Sir Philip, Knt. Marshal.
Hon. Thomas Townshend, Esq; second Son to the Lord Viscount Townshend, Under Secretary to his Lp, and a Teller of the Exchequer.	Badmin.
<i>Cambridge</i>	John Laroche, Esq; a Trustee for the Colony of Georgia.
Sir John Hynde Cotton, Bart.	Hon. Robert Booth, Esq; Nephew and Heir to the Earl of Warrington, dec. In his Place
Thomas Sciater Bacon, Esq;	Sir John Heathcote, Bart. Son to the late Sir Gilbert Heathcote.
<i>Cheshire.</i>	Helfton.
Charles Cholmondeley, Esq;	John Evelyn, Esq; Son to Sir John Evelyn, Commissioner of the Customs, and Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince.
Sir Robert Salisbury Cotton, Bart. Lord Lieutenant and Custos-Rotulorum of the County.	John Harris, Esq;
<i>Chester.</i>	Saltaß.
Sir Richard Grosvenor, Bart. deceased. In his Place.	Lord Viscount Glenorchy, Kt. of the Bath, Son to the Earl of Broadalbin,
Sir Robert Crève:or, Bart.	
Sir Thomas Grosvenor, Bart. dec. In his Place	
Sir Charles Bunbury, Bart.	

After the Accession of King GEORGE II.

bin, *Envoy to the Court of Denmark, Master of the Horse to the three Eldest Princesses.*

Edward Hughes Esq; deceased. *In his Place*

Thomas Corbett Esq; *Under Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Camelford.

Thomas Hales, Esq; *Clerk of the Green-cloth, and Son of Sir Thomas Hales, Bart.*

John Pitt, Esq; *Colonel in the first Regiment of Guards Aid-de-Camp, to his Majesty, and Vice-Admiral of the Summer Islands, and Brother to the Earl of Londonderry.*

Wesflow.

Edward Trelawney Esq; *made Commissioner of the Customs. In his Place*

Thomas Walker Esq; *Surveyor of the Crown Revenue.*

John Willes Esq; *Chief Justice of Chester.*

Grampound.

Philip Hawkins Esq;

Humphry Morice Esq; *deceased Governor of the Bank. In his Place*

Isaac Leheup, Esq;

Eastflow.

Sir John Trelawney, Bart.

Charles Longueville Esq; *Auditor to the Queen.*

Penryn.

Edvard Vernon, Esq;

Sir Cecil Bishop, Bart.

Tregony.

John Goddard Esq; *Commissioner to settle the Merchants Losses by the Spaniards.*

Thomas Smith, Esq; *Vice Chamberlain to the Queen's Household. In his Place*

Hon. Matthew Ducie Morton, Esq; *Son to the Lord Ducie Morton.*

Bossiney.

John Hedges, Esq; *Treasurer to the Prince, and Envoy to the Court of Turin.*

Hon. James Cholmondeley, Esq; Ma-

yor of the Horse Guards, and Governor of Chester Castle.

St. Ives.

Henry Knollys, Esq;

Sir Robert Rich, Bart. *Colonel of Dragoons, Brigadier General of the Forces, and Groom of the Bed-chamber to the King.*

Forwey.

Lord Viscount Fitz-Williams.

Jonathan Raffleigh, Esq;

St. Germaine.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Knt. *deceased, Director of the Bank, created a Baronet. In his Place*

Dudley Rider, Esq; *Solicitor General.*

Sidney Godolphin, Esq; *dec. Auditor of the Principality of Wales, Governor of the Isle of Scilly, and of of Greenwich Hospital. In his Place*

Richard Elliot, Esq; *Auditor General to the Prince*

St. Michael.

Henry Kelsal, Esq;

Thomas Farrington, Esq; *Receiver of the Revenue of Wales.*

Newport.

Hon. Thomas Herbert, Esq; *Son to the Earl of Pembroke, and Captain in the Guards.*

Sir William Morrice, Bart.

St. Marv's.

Hon. Henry Vane, Esq; *Son to the Lord Barnard.*

John Knight, Esq; *deceased. In his Place*

William East, Esq;

Kellington.

Thomas Copleston, Esq;

Sir John Coryton, Bart.

Cumberland.

Gilfrid Lawfon, Esq;

James Lowther, Esq;

Carlisle.

Charles Howard, Esq; *youngest Son to the Earl of Carlisle, Lieutenant Governor of the City and Castle.*

and

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

- and Col. in the second Regiment of
Foot-Guards.
- John Hylton, Esq;
Cockermouth.
- Sir Wilfrid Lawton, Bart.
- Hon. William Finch, Esq;
Derbyshire.
- Sir Nathaniel Carzon, Bart.
- Godfrey Clarke, Esq;
Derby.
- Lord James Cavendish.
- Charles Stanhope, Esq; Brother to
the Earl of Chesterfield.
- Debonshire.
- Sir William Courteney, Bart.
- Henry Rolle, Esq;
Exeter.
- Francis Drew, Esq;
- Samuel Molyneux, Esq; one of the
Lords of the Admiralty, dec. In his
Place
- John Belfield, Serjeant at Law.
Totness.
- Sir Charles Willes, Kt. of the Bath.
- Exton Sayer, L. L. D. dec. Advocate
of the Admiralty, Surveyor of the
King's Land Revenue, and Chan-
cellor of Durham. In his Place
- Sir Henry Gough, Bart.
Plymouth.
- Hon. Robert Byng, Esq; Brother to
Lord Torrington, first Joint-Re-
ceiver-General of the Admiralty,
and then a Commissioner of the
Navy.
- Arthur Stert, Esq; a Commissioner to
settle the Merchants Losses by the
Spaniards.
- Okehampton.
- William Northmore, Esq;
- Thomas Pitt, Esq; Grandson of Go-
vernor Pitt, of Fort St. George.
- Barnstable.
- Richard Coffin, Esq;
- Hon. Theophilus Fortescue, Esq;
Brother to Lord Clinton.
- Plympton.
- Richard Edgecumbe, Esq; Custos-
Rotulorum of Cornwall.
- John Fuller, Esq;
Honiton.
- Sir William Yonge, Bart. Knt. of
the Bath.
- James Shepheard, Esq; dec. Recorder
of this Borough. In his Place
- Sir William Pole, Bart.
Tavistock.
- Sir Fran. Hen. Drake, Bart.
- Sir Humphrey Monnoux, Bart.
Alburtton.
- Richard Reynell, Esq;
- Roger Tuckfield, Esq;
Dartmouth.
- George Treby, Esq; Master of the
Household.
- Walter Carey, Esq; one of the Lords
of Trade-extraordinary, Clerk of
the Council, and Secretary to the
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
- Boralsdon.
- Sir Archer Croft, Bart. a Commis-
sioner of Trade.
- Henry Lord Walden, by the Death of
his Father, became Earl of Suf-
folk. In his Place
- William Morden, Esq;
Tiverton.
- Arthur Arscott, Esq;
- James Nelthorp, Esq;
Dorsetshire.
- George Chaffin, Esq;
- Edm. Morton Pleydell, Esq;
Poole.
- George Trenchard, Esq;
- Dennis Bond, Esq; Recorder of this
Town, and of Wareham, and
Carrier of his Majesty's Post Let-
ters, expelled the House on account
of the fraudulent Sale of the late
Earl of Derwentwater's Estate.
[See Vol. II p. 238.] In his Place
- Thomas Wyndham, Esq;
Dorchester.
- Sir William Chaple, Knt.
- John Brown, Esq; Barrister at Law,
and Standing Council to the East-
India Company.
- Lyme.

After the Accession of King GEORGE II.

Lyme-Regis.
Hon. Holt Henley, Esq; Clerk of the Pipe.
 Henry Drax, Esq;
Weymouth.
 Edward Tucker, Esq;
 Thomas Pearse, Esq;
Melcomb-Regis.
 Sir James Thornhill, Kt.
 George Doddington, Esq;
Bridport.
 William Bowles, Esq; Merchant of London, and Director of the South-Sea Company.
 John Jewkes, Esq;
Shaftesbury.
 Sir Edward Desbouverie, Bart.
 Stephen Fox, Esq;
Wareham.
 Nathaniel Gould Esq;
 Thomas Towers, Esq;
Corfe Castle.
 John Banks, Esq;
 John Bond, Esq; Brother to Dennis Bond, Esq;
County of Durham.
 John Hedworth, Esq;
 George Bowes, Esq;
Durham.
 Charles Talbot, Esq; Created a Peer, and made Lord Chancellor. In his Place
 Henry Lambton, Esq;
 Robert Shaftoe, Esq; dec. In his Place
 John Shaftoe, Esq;
Eller.
 Lord Viscount Castlemain, Created Earl of Tilney of Ireland.
 Sir Robert Abdy, Bart.
Colchester.
 Stamp Brooksbank, Esq;
 Samuel Tuffnel, Esq; a Commissioner for Settling Commerce.
Malden.
 Thomas Bramston, Esq;
 Henry Parsons, Esq; Surveyor of Chelsea College.
 VOL. III.

Harwich.
 Sir Philip Parker Long, Bart.
 John Viscount Percival, and Earl of Egmond in Ireland, Recorder of this Borough.
Gloucestershire.
 Hon. Henry Berkeley Esq;
 Sir John Dutton Bart.
Gloucester.
 Col. John Selwyn, Equerry to the Queen.
 Benjamin Bathurst Esq; Youngest Brother to the Lord Bathurst.
Cirencester.
 Thomas Maisters Esq;
 Peter Bathurst, Esq; first Brother to the Lord Bathurst.
Tewkesbury.
 Thomas Lord Viscount Gage,
 George Reade Esq; Colonel of the Foot Guards, and Brother to Sir Thomas Reade Bart.
Herefordshire.
 Velters Cornewall Esq;
 Edward Harley Esq; eldest Son of Auditor Harley, Auditor of the Imprest.
Hereford.
 Marquis of Caernarvan, Son to James Duke of Chandos.
 Thomas Geers Winford, Esq;
Leominster.
 Sir George Caswall, Kt.
 Lord Viscount Bateman of Ireland.
Woolly.
 John Birch, Esq; expelled the House on account of the fraudulent Sale of the late Earl of Derwenwater's Estate. [See Vol. II. p. 238-] In his Place
 Uvedale Price, Esq; Son of Judge Price.
 James Cornewall Esq; Captain of a Man of War.
Herefordshire.
 Sir Thomas Saunders Sebright, Bart.
 Charles Cæsar, Esq;

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

<i>St. Albans.</i>	<i>Proffon.</i>
Lord Viscount Grimstone.	Sir Henry Houghton, Bart. Judge-Advocate
Thomas Gape, Esq; deceased. In his Place	Nicholas Fazakerley, Esq; Counsellor at Law.
John Merril, Esq;	<i>Lancaster.</i>
<i>Hertford.</i>	Sir Thomas Lowther, Bart.
Sir Thomas Clerke, Esq;	Christopher Towers, Esq;
George Harrison, Esq;	<i>Newtown.</i>
<i>Huntingdonshire.</i>	William Shippin, Esq;
Robert Piggot, Esq;	Legh Master, Esq;
John Bigg, Esq;	<i>Wigan.</i>
<i>Huntingdon.</i>	Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Bart.
Edward Wortley Montagu, Esq;	Peter Bond, Esq;
Roger Handafide, Esq; Col. of a Regiment of Foot, and Governor of Fort-Philip in Minorca.	<i>Clithero.</i>
<i>Kent.</i>	Thomas Lister, Esq;
Sir Roger Meredith, Bart. Recorder of Maidstone.	Lord Viscount Gallway of Ireland
Sir Robert Furnese, Bart. deceased. In his Place	<i>Liverpool.</i>
Sir Edward Dering, Bart.	Thomas Bootle, Esq;
<i>Canterbury.</i>	Sir Thomas Aston, Bart.
Sir Thomas Hales, Bart.	<i>Leicestershire.</i>
Sir William Hardres, Bart.	Lord William Manners.
<i>Rochester.</i>	Sir Cloberry Noel, Bart.
Sir John Jennings, Knt. House-keeper to the Royal Palace at Greenwich.	<i>Leicesters.</i>
David Polhil, Esq; Keeper of the Records in the Tower.	Sir George Beaumont, Bart.
<i>Maidstone.</i>	George Wright, Esq;
Hon. John Finch, Esq;	<i>Lincolnshire.</i>
Thomas Hope, Esq;	Robert Vyner, Esq;
<i>Queenborough.</i>	Sir Thomas Lumley Saunderfon, Knt. of the Bath, Brother to the Earl of Scarborough.
Sprig Manesty, Esq; deceased. Commissioner of the Victualling, and Auditor of the African Company. In his Place	<i>Lincoln.</i>
Sir George Saunders, Knt. a Commissioner of the Navy.	Sir John Tyrwhit, Bart.
John Crowley, Esq; deceased. Alderman of London. In his Place	Charles Hall, Esq;
Richard Evans, Esq; Deputy-Governor of Sheerness, and Captain of Dragoons.	<i>Boston.</i>
<i>Lancashire.</i>	Sir Richard Ellis, Bart.
Sir Edward Stanley, Bart.	Lord Colerain of Ireland.
Richard Shuttleworth, Esq;	<i>Grimby.</i>
	George Monfon, Esq; Brother to Lord Monfon.
	John Page, Esq;
	<i>Stamford.</i>
	William Noel, Esq;
	Hon. Robert Shirley, Esq; Brother to Earl Ferrers.
	<i>Grantbam.</i>
	Lord Viscount Tyrconnel, Knight of the Bath.

After the Accession of King GEORGE II.

Sir Michael Newton, *Knight of Bath.*

Middlesex.

Hon. James Bertie, *Esq;*

Sir Francis Child, *Knt. Alderman of London.*

Westminster.

Lord Charles Cavendish, *Brother to the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord of the Bed-chamber to the Prince.*

William Clayton, *Esq; Commissioner of the Treasury.*

London.

Sir John Eyles, *Bart. Sub-governor of the South-Sea Company. [See Vol. II. p. 239.]*

John Barnard, *Esq; Alderman of London.*

Humphrey Parsons, *Esq; (ibid.)*

Micajah Perry, *Esq;*

Dorsetshire

Sir William Morgan, *Knt. of the Bath, dec. In his Place*

Lord Charles Noel Somerset, *Brother to the Duke of Beaufort.*

John Hanbury, *Esq;*

Monmouth.

Edward Kemeys, *Esq;*

Dorset.

Sir Thomas Coke, *Knt. of the Bath, created Lord Lovel. In his Place*

Sir Edmond Bacon, *Bart.*

Sir John Hobart, *Knt. of the Bath. Treasurer of his Majesty's Chamber, and Vice-Admiral of the County, created Lord Hobart. In his Place*

Harbord Harbord, *Esq;*

Norwich.

Waller Bacon, *Esq; Commissioner of the Victualling-Office, and afterwards of the Musters and Stores in Minorca.*

Robert Brittiffe, *Esq; Counsellor at Law.*

Lynn-Regis.

Sir Charles Turner, *Bart. Teller of the Exchequer.*

Sir Robert Walpole, *Knt. of the Garter, first Lord-Commissioner of the Treasury, and then of the Exchequer.*

Yarmouth.

Hon. William Townshend, *Aid de Camp to his Majesty, and Captain of Horse.*

Horatio Walpole, *Esq; Cofferer of the Household.*

Thetford.

Sir Edmund Bacon, *Bart.*

Robert Jacombe, *Esq; Deputy Paymaster of the Forces, deceased. In his Place*

Charles Fitzroy, *Esq; Cornet of Horse, and Master of the Tennis Court.*

Caistering.

Col. Charles Churchill, *Groom of the Bedchamber to the King.*

Earl of Mountrath, *of Ireland.*

Northamptonshire.

Sir Justinian Isham, *Bart.*

Thomas Cartwright, *Esq;*

Peterborough.

Sir Charles Gunter Nicholl, *Knt. of the Bath.*

Joseph Banks, *Esq;*

Northampton.

Hon. Edward Montagu, *Esq; Governor of Hull.*

Hon. George Compton, *Esq;*

Brackley.

Sir Paul Methuen, *Knt. of the Bath.*

Hon. William Egerton, *Esq; deceased. Col. of a Regiment of Foot. In his Place*

George Lee, *L. L. D. Brother to Sir Thomas Lee, Knt. of the Shire for Bucks.*

Higham-Ferrers.

Hon. John Finch, *Esq;*

Northumberland.

Sir William Middleton, *Bart.*

Ralph Jennison, *Esq;*

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

Newcastle upon Tyne.

William Carr, Esq;

Nicholas Fenwick, Esq;

Morpeth.

Henry Viscount Morpeth.

Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart.

Berwick upon Tweed.

George Lyddel, Esq;

Joseph Sabine, Esq; Lieutenant General, Governor of Berwick, and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Welsh Fusileers.

Nottinghamshire.

Sir Robert Sutton, Knt. of the Bath, expelled the House on Account of the Charitable Corporation. [See Vol. II. p. 244.] In his Place

William Levinz, Esq;

Lord Viscount Howe, made Governor of Barbadoes. In his Place

Thomas Bennet, Esq;

Nottingham.

Borlace Warren, Esq;

Hon. John Stanhope, Esq; Brother to the Earl of Chesterfield, and Secretary to the Embassy at the Hague. East-Retford.

Thomas White, Esq; deceased. In his Place

John White, Esq;

Sir Robert Clifton, Knt. of the Bath. Newark upon Trent.

Brigadier General Sutton, Governor of Guernsey.

James Pelham, Esq; Secretary to the Prince, and to the Lord Chamberlain.

Oron.

Sir William Stapleton, Bart.

Henry Perrot, Esq;

University of Oxford.

George Clark, E. L. D.

William Bromley, Esq; deceased. In his Place

Lord Viscount Cornbury, Son of the Earl of Clarendon and Rochester. City of Oxford.

Thomas Rowney, Esq;

Francis Knollys, Esq;

Woodstock.

Samuel Trotman, Esq;

Marquis of Blandford, deceased. In his Place

Hon. John Spencer, Esq; Brother to the Duke of Marlborough.

Banbury.

Hon. Francis North, Esq; succeeded his Father as Lord Guilford.

Toby Chauncy, Esq; deceased. In his Place

Lord Viscount Wallingford, Son to the Earl of Banbury, whose Claim to the Title is disallowed by the House of Peers.

Rutlandshire.

Daniel Lord Finch, by his Father's Death Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham. In his Place

William Burton, Esq;

Hon. Thomas Noel, Esq; Uncle to the Earl of Gainborough.

Shropshire.

John Walcot, Esq;

William Lacon Child, Esq;

Shrewsbury.

Sir John Astley, Bart.

Richard Lyster, Esq;

Bridgenorth.

John Weaver, Esq;

St. John Charlton, Esq;

Ludlow.

Hon. Arthur Herbert, Esq; Lord Lieutenant of the County.

Richard Herbert, Esq;

Great Wenlock.

Samuel Edwards, Esq;

John Sambrook, Esq; Gentleman of the Privy-chamber.

Bishop's-Castle.

Robert Moore, Esq;

John Plumtree, Esq; Treasurer and Pay-Master of the Ordinance.

Somersetshire.

Sir William Wyndham, Bart.

Thomas Strangeways Horner, Esq;

Bri-

After the Accession of King GEORGE II.

<i>Bristol.</i>	Norton Paulet, jun. Esq;
Sir Abraham Elton, Bart.	<i>Southampton.</i>
John Scrope, Esq; Joint-Secretary of the Treasury with Horace Wal- pole, Esq;	Robert Eyre, Esq; Son of the Lord Chief Justice Eyre, made a Com- missioner of the Excise. In his Place
<i>Bath.</i>	Sir William Heathcote, Bart.
General George Wade, Commander in Chief of the Land Forces in Scot- land, and Governor of Fort Wil- liam in the Highlands.	Anthony Henley, Esq;
Robert Gay, Esq; Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.	<i>Portsmouth.</i>
<i>Wells.</i>	Sir John Norris, Admiral of the Blue; one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and Deputy Governor of Dover Castle.
Thomas Edwards, Esq;	Sir Charles Wager, Knt. made first Lord of the Admiralty, and rechofe Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight.
William Piers, Esq;	Maurice Morgan, Esq;
<i>Taunton.</i>	Paul Burrard, Esq; Agent for Taxes. <i>Petersfield.</i>
George Speke, Esq;	Joseph Taylor, Esq;
Francis Fane, Esq; one of his Maje- sty's Council at Law, Solicitor General to the Queen, and Council to the Board of Trade.	Norton Paulet, Esq;
<i>Bridgewater.</i>	<i>Newport.</i>
George Bubb Doddington, Esq;	George Huxley, Esq; Commissary General of the Musters.
<i>Halifax.</i>	William Fortescue, Esq; Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Sir Halfwel Tynte, Bart. deceased.	<i>Stockbridge.</i>
In his Place	Martin Bladen, Esq;
Thomas Palmer, Esq;	John Chetwynd, Esq; second Brother of the Lord Viscount Chetwynd, made a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations.
<i>Minehead.</i>	<i>New-town.</i>
Francis Whitworth, Esq; Surveyor of his Majesty's Woods.	Charles Armand Paulet, Esq; Lieu- tenant Colonel of Horse Grenadiers.
Alexander Lutterel, Esq;	Sir John Barrington, Bart.
<i>Ilchester.</i>	<i>Christ-Church.</i>
Charles Lockyer, Esq; Gentleman of the Privy-chamber, and Chief Ac- comptant to the South-Sea Company.	Charles Withers, Esq; deceased. Sur- veyor of his Majesty's Woods North and South of Trent. In his Place
Thomas Crispe, Esq;	Philip Lloyd, Esq; Capt. of Dragoons.
<i>Milbourn Port.</i>	Joseph Hinxman, Esq; Woodward of New-Forest.
Michael Harvey, Esq;	<i>Lymington.</i>
Thomas Medlicott, Esq; Commis- sioner of the Revenue in Ireland.	Lord Nassau Paulet, Knt. of the Bath.
<i>Southamptonshire.</i>	Anthony Morgan, Esq; deceased. In his Place
Lord Harry Paulet, a Commissioner of the Admiralty.	William Paulet, Esq;
Sir John Cope, Bart.	
<i>Winchester.</i>	
George Bridges, Esq;	
Lord William Paulet, deceased. In his Place	

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

Whitchurch.

John Conduit, *Esq;*
John Selwyn, *Esq;* *Treasurer to the Queen.*

Andover.

Hon. James Brudenel, *Esq;* a Commissioner of Trade, and Groom of the Bed-chamber.

Lord Viscount Melington, Son to the Earl of Portmore, by whose Death he succeeded to the Title. In his Place

William Guidott, *Esq;*

Staffordshire.

Hon. William Leveson Gower, *Esq;*
Sir Walter Wagstaffe Bagot, *Bart.* *Lichfield.*

Richard Plummer, *Esq;*
Walter Chetwynd, *Esq;* deceased. In his Place

George Venables Vernon, *Esq;* *Stafford.*

Walter Viscount Chetwynd of Ireland, High Steward of this Borough.
Joseph Gascoigne Nightingale, *Esq;* *Newcastle under Line.*

Hon. Baptist Leveson Gower, *Esq;* youngest Brother to Lord Gower.
John Ward, *Esq;* *Tamworth.*

William Earl of Inchiquin of Ireland.

Hon. Thomas Willoughby, *Esq;* second Son to the Lord Middleton. *Suffolk.*

Sir Jermyn Davers, *Bart.*
Sir William Barker, *Bart.* deceased. In his Place

Sir Robert Kemp, *Bart.* *Ipswich.*

Sir William Thompson, *Knt.* made a Baron of the Exchequer. In his Place

Philip Broke, *Esq;*
Francis Negus, *Esq;* deceased, Master of his Majesty's Buck Hounds.
William Wollaston, *Esq;*

Dunwich.

Sir George Downing, *Bart.* *Knt. of the Bath.*

Thomas Wyndham, *Esq;* Auditor of the South Part of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Orford.

Hon. Pryce Devereux, *Esq;* made his Election for Montgomeryshire. In his Place

William Acton, *Esq;*
Hon. Dudley North, *Esq;* deceased. In his Place

Robert Kemp, *Esq;* Son of Sir Robert. *Albrough.*

Samuel Lowe, *Esq;* deceased. In his Place

George Purvis, *Esq;* Captain in the Navy.

William Wyndham, *Esq;* deceased, Lieutenant-Governor of Chelsea Hospital. In his Place

Sir John Williams, *Knt.* Alderman of London.

Sudbury.

Carteret Leathes, *Esq;*
John Knight, *Esq;* deceased. In his Place

Richard Jackson, *Esq;* *Eye.*

Hon. Stephen Cornwallis, *Esq;* Lieutenant-Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.

Hon. John Cornwallis, *Esq;* Equerry to the Prince. Both Brothers to the Lord Cornwallis.

St. Edmund's Bury.

John Lord Hervey, called up to the House of Peers. In his Place
Hon. Thomas Hervey, *Esq;* Equerry to the Queen.

Col. Thomas Norton, Lieutenant Governor of Chelsea Hospital.

Surry.

Thomas Scawen, *Esq;*
Arthur Onslow, *Esq;* Chancellor to the Queen, Recorder of Guildford, and SPEAKER to the House, also a Treasurer of the Navy.

Southwark

After the Accession of King GEORGE II.

- Southwark.*
 Sir Joseph Eyles *Kt. Brother to Sir John Eyles, Bart.*
 Edmund Halsey, *Esq; dec. In his Place*
 Thomas Inwen, *Esq;*
Blechnigly.
 Sir Orl. Bridgman, *Bart. a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations.*
 William Clayton, *Esq;*
Ryegate.
 Sir Joseph Jekyll, *Kt. Master of the Rolls.*
 James Cocks, *Esq; Nephew to the Master of the Rolls.*
Guildford.
 Richard Onslow, *Esq; Colonel of the Guards, and Brother to Arthur Onslow Esq;*
 Henry Vincent, *Esq; Son of Sir Francis Vincent, Bart.*
Gatton.
 William Newland, *Esq;*
 Paul Docminique, *Esq; a Commissioner of Trade.*
Haslemere.
 James Oglethorpe, *Esq; one of the Trustees for the Colony of Georgia.*
 Peter Burrell, *Esq; Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Company.*
Suffex.
 Hon. Henry Pelham, *Esq;*
 Sir Spencer Compton, *Kt. of the Bath. Created Earl of Wilmington. In his Place*
 James Butler, *Esq;*
Chichester.
 Lord William Beauclerc, *dec. Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen. In his Place*
 Sir Thomas Pendergast, *Bart.*
 Hon. Charles Lumley, *Esq; deceased, Brother to the Earl of Scarborough. In his Place*
 Hon. James Lumley, *Esq; his Brother. Horsham.*
 Charles Eversfield, *Esq;*
- Hon. Henry Ingram, Esq; Commissary General of the Stores at Minorca. Midhurst.*
 Bullstrode Peachy Knight, *Esq;*
 Sir Richard Mills, *Bart.*
Lewes.
 Thomas Pelham, *Esq;*
 Thomas Pelham, *Esq; of Stanmore, Secretary to the Embassy in France. Shoreham*
 Sir Nathaniel Gould, *Kt. dec. In his Place*
 John Gould, *Esq;*
 Francis Chamberlain, *Esq; dec. In his Place*
 Samuel Ongley, *Esq;*
Bramber.
 Joseph d'Anvers, *Esq;*
 Sir Richard Gough, *Kt. dec. In his Place*
 James Hoste, *Esq; jun.*
Steyning.
 William Viscount Vane, *of Ireland. East Grinstead.*
 Richard Viscount Shannon *of Ireland, Captain of the fourth Troop of Guards.*
 Henry Viscount Palmerston *of Ireland, Chief Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer in that Kingdom.*
Arundel.
 Hon. John Lumley, *Esq; Brother to the Earl of Scarborough Avenor and Clerk-Marshal to his Majesty.*
 Sir John Shelly, *Bart.*
Warwickshire.
 William Peytoe, *Esq; deceased. In his Place*
 Sir Charles Mordaunt, *Bart.*
 Hon. Edward Digby, *Esq;*
Coventry.
 Sir Adolphus Oughton, *Bart.*
 John Neale, *Esq; Comptroller of the Household to the three eldest Princesses. Warwick.*
 Sir William Keyt, *Bart.*

William

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,

William Bromley, *Esq;* only Son of
William Bromley, *Esq;* late Speaker.
Wiltshire.

Hon. Henry Lowther, *Esq;* made a
Commissioner of the Revenue in Ire-
land, and rechose.

Daniel Wilson, *Esq;*
Apulby.

Hon. Sackville Tufton, *Esq;* succeed-
ed his Uncle as Earl of Thanet.
In his Place

Walter Plumer, *Esq;*

John Ramfden, *Esq;*
Wiltshire.

John Ivory Talbot, *Esq;*

John Howe, *Esq;*

New Sarum.

Anthony Duncombe, *Esq;*

Thomas Lewis, *Esq;*
Wilton.

Hon. Robert Herbert, *Esq;* a Commis-
sioner of the Revenue in Ireland.

Thomas Martin, *Esq;*
Downton.

Giles Eyre, *Esq;* Serjeant at Law,
and Recorder of Bath.

Hon. John Verney, *Esq;* youngest Son
of Lord Willoughby of Broke,
one of his Majesty's Council at Law,
and one of the Welch Judges, made
Chief Justice of Chester, and re-
chose.

Hindon.

George Heathcote, *Esq;* Nephew to
Sir Gilbert Heathcote, *Kt.* and
Bart.

Townshend Andrews, *Esq;* Deputy
Pay-master of the Forces.

Heytesbury.

Edward Ashe, *Esq;*

Hon. Horatio Townshend, *Esq;* Gen-
tleman of the Privy-chamber, a
Director of the Bank, and Brother
to Lord Viscount Townshend.

Westbury.

Francis Annesley, *Esq;*

John Hoskins Gifford, *Esq;*

Calne.

William Duckett, *Esq;* Lieutenant-co-
lonel of the Horse Grenadiers.

William Wardour, *Esq;*

Devizes.

Benjamin Haskin Styles, *Esq;*

Francis Eyles, *Esq;* a Lieutenant of
Dragoons.

Chippenham.

Rogers Holland, *Esq;*

Gabriel Roberts, *Esq;* a Director of
the South-Sea Company.

Malmesbury.

Giles Erle, *Esq;*

William Rawlinson Erle, *Esq;* Clerk
of the Deliveries to the Ordnance
Office.

Cricklade.

Sir Thomas Read, Bart.

Christopher Tillson, *Esq;* one of the
Clerks of the Treasury.

Great-Bedwin.

William Sloper, *Esq;* Deputy-cofferer,
and High-steward of Newbury.

Francis Seymour, *Esq;*

Ludgershal.

Borlace Richmond Webb, *Esq;*

Charles Boone, *Esq;* late Governor of
Bombay.

Old-Sarum.

Thomas Harrison, *Esq;*

Matthew Chitty St. Quintin, *Esq;*
Brother to Sir William St. Quint-
tin, Bart.

Wotton-Basset.

Hon. John St. John, *Esq;* second Son
of Lord Viscount St. John of Bat-
tersea.

John Crosse, *Esq;* Son of Sir Tho-
mas Crosse, Bart.

Marlborough.

Thomas Gibson, *Esq;*

Edward Lisle, *Esq;*

Worcestershire.

Sir Thomas Lyttleton, Bart. one of
the Lords of the Admiralty.

Sir Herbert Perrott Pakington, Bart.
Wor-

After the Accession of King GEORGE II.

Worcester.

Samuel Sandys, Esq;

Sir Richard Lane, Knt

Droitwich.

Thomas Winnington, Esq;

Edward Foley, Esq;

Evesham.

John Rudge, Esq;

Sir John Rushout, Bart.

Brewdly.

William Crew Offley, Esq; Gentle-
man of the Privy-chamber.

Workeſpire.

Sir Thomas Watſon Wentworth,

Knt. of the Bath, created Lord

Malton. In his Place

Sir George Saville, Bart.

Cholmley Turner, Esq;

York.

Sir William Milner, Bart.

Edward Thompson, Esq; a Com-
miſſioner of the Revenue in Ire-
land.

Kingſton upon Hull.

George Crowle, Esq; a Commiſſioner
of the Viſtualling-Office.

Joſeph Lord Viſcount Micklethwaite,
of Ireland, deceas'd. In his Place

Henry Maiſter, Esq;

Knaresborough.

Hon. Richard Arundel, Esq; Sur-
veyor-General of the Works.

Sir Henry Slingsby, Bart.

Scarborough.

John Hungerford, Esq; deceas'd. In
his Place

William Thompson, Esq; Commiſ-
ſioner of the Viſtualling-Office.

Sir William Strickland, Bart. Trea-
ſurer of the Queen's Houſhold.

Rippon.

William Aiſlabie, Esq; Son of John
Aiſlabie, Esq;

William Aiſlabie, Esq; Nephew of
John Aiſlabie, Esq;

Richmond.

John York, Esq;

Sir Conyers D'Arcy, Knt. of the

VOL. III.

Bath, made Comptroller of the Hou-
ſhold, and re-choſen.

Heydon.

William Pulteney, Esq; made Cof-
ferer of his Maſteſty's Houſhold, and
Ranger of Epping-Foreſt, and re-
choſen.

Henry Pulteney, Esq; his Brother,
Colonel of the Guards, and Equery
to the King.

Borough Bridge.

Col. James Tyrrel.

George Gregory, Esq; Store-keeper of
the Ordnance.

Malton.

Hon. Henry Finch, Esq; Receiver-
General, and Collector of the Cuſ-
toms in Minorca.

Wardel George Weſtby, Esq; made
a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms. In
his Place

Sir William Wentworth, Bart.

Thirsk.

Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart. made
one of the Lords of the Admiralty,
and re-choſen.

Thomas Robinſon, Esq; Son of Sir
William Robinſon, Bart. and
Secretary to Horace Walpole,
Esq; Ambaſſador extraordinary in
France.

Aldborough.

William Jeſſop, Esq; made a Juſtice
Judge of Cheſter, and re-choſe.

Charles Stanhope, Esq; Treasuſer of
his Maſteſty's Chamber, Brother to
Lord Harrington.

Beverly.

Sir Charles Hotham, Bart.

Charles Pelham, Esq;

Northallerton.

Leonard Smelt, Esq; Clerk of the
Ordnance.

Henry Peirſe, Esq;

Pontefract.

Sir William Lowther, Bart.

John Mordaunt, Esq; Colonel of the
Guards.

Barons

**A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,
Barons of the CINQUE PORTS.**

Hastings.

Sir William Ashburnham, Bart.
Thomas Pelham, Jun. Esq; Son of
Thomas Pelham of Stammer, Esq; and Secretary of the British Embassy at the Congress of Soissons.

Dover.

Hon. George Berkeley, Esq; Master of St. Catherine's Hospital.
Henry Furnese, Esq;

Sandwich.

Sir George Oxenden, Bart. one of the Lords of the Treasury.
Josiah Burchet, Esq; Secretary to the Admiralty.

Hyeth.

Sir Samuel Lennard, Bart. deceased.
In his Place
William Glanville, Esq;
Capt. Hercules Baker.

New-Romney.

David Papillon, Esq;
Sir Robert Austen, Bart.

Rye.

Philip Gibbon, Esq;
John Norris, Esq; eldest Son of the Admiral, made Usher of the Custom-House. In his Place

Matthew Norris, Esq; his Brother

Winchelsea.

Robert Bristow, Esq; Clerk-Comptroller of the Green Cloth.
Peter. Walter, Esq; Clerk of the Peace for Middlesex.

Seaford.

Sir William Gage, Bart. Knt. of the Bath.
Sir Philip Yorke, Knt. created Lord Hardwicke, and made Lord-Chief-Justice of the King's Bench. In his Place
William Haye, Esq;

W A L E S.

Anglesea.

Hugh Williams, Esq;

Beaumaris.

Lord Viscount Belkeley of Ireland.
Brecon.

William Gwyn Vaughan, Esq;
Town of Brecon.

Thomas Morgan, Esq;
Cardigan-shire.

John Viscount Lisburne of Ireland
Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of this County.

Cardigan.

Francis Cornwallis, Esq; dec. In his Place

Richard Lloyd, Esq;

Caermarthenshire.

Sir Nicholas Williams, Bart. Lord Lieutenant of the County.

Carmarthen.

Arthur Beven, Esq; Recorder of this Town.

Caernarvanshire.

John Griffith, Esq;

Caernarvan.

Thomas Wynne, Esq; Clerk of the Green-cloth to the King.

Denbighshire.

Watkin Williams Wynne, Esq;

Denbigh.

Robert Middleton, Esq; dec. In his Place

John Middleton Esq;

Flintshire.

Sir Roger Mostyn Bart. Custos Rotulorum of the County.

Flint.

Salsbury Lloyd, Esq;

Glamorgan.

Sir Charles Keymis, Bart.

Cardiffe.

Hon. Bussy Mansell, Esq;

Merioneth.

Richard Vaughan Esq;

Montgomery.

Hon. Price Devereux, Esq;

Montgomery.

William Corbett, Esq;

John Pembroke-shire.

John Campbell, Esq; of Stackpole Court.

After the Accession of King GEORGE II.

Pembroke.

William Owen, *Esq;*

Haverford-West.

Erasmus Phillips, *Esq;*

Radnor.

Thomas Lewis, *Esq;*

SCOTLAND.

Shire of Aberdeen.

Sir Archibald Grant, *Bart.* expelled
the House on account of the Charita-
ble Corporation, [See Vol. II. p.
244.] In his Place

Sir Arthur Forbes, *Bart.*

Shire of Air.

Hon. James Campbell, *Esq;* Colonel
of a Regiment of Scotch Greys,
Groom of the Bedchamber to his
Majesty.

Shire of Argyle.

Sir James Campbell, *Bart.* Commis-
sary of the Musters in North-Bri-
tain.

Shire of Bamff.

William Duffe, *Esq;*

Berwick.

George Balie *Esq;*

Shires of Bute and Cathness.

Patrick Dunbar, *Esq;*

Shires of Cromartie and Nairn.

Sir George Mackenzie, *Bart.*

Shires of Clackmannac and Kinross.

Sir John Hope Bruce, *Bart.*

Shire of Dumbarton.

Col. John Campbell, jun. Groom of
the Bed-chamber to the King.

Shire of Dumfries.

Charles Areskine, *Esq;*

Shire of Edinburgh.

Robert Dundas, *Esq;*

Shire of Elgin.

Alexander Brodie, *Esq;* Lyon King
at Arms in Scotland.

Shire of Fife.

Sir John Anstruther, *Bart.* Master
of his Majesty's Works in Scot-
land.

Shire of Forfar.

James Scot, jun. *Esq;*

Shire of Haddington.

John Cockburn, *Esq;* one of the Lords
of the Admiralty.

Shire of Inverness.

James Grant, *Esq;*

Shire of Kincardin.

James Scott, sen. *Esq;*

Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

Patrick Heron, *Esq;*

Shire of Lanerk.

Lord Archibald Hamilton.

Linlithgow.

Alexander Hamilton, *Esq;* Secretary
to the Prince of Wales for Scotland.

Shire of Orkney and Zetland.

Capt. Robert Douglas, Son of the
Earl of Moreton.

Shire of Peebles.

John Douglas, *Esq;* dec. In his Place

Sir James Nasmyth, *Bart.*

Shire of Perth.

John Drummond, *Esq;* Director of
the East-India Company, and a
Commissioner for settling Commerce.

Shire of Renfrew.

Sir John Schaw, *Bart.*

Shire of Ross.

Lieutenant-General Charles Ross, dec.

Brother to Lord Ross. In his Place

John Monrow, *Esq;*

Shire of Roxburgh.

William Douglas, jun. *Esq;*

Shire of Selkirk.

James Rutherford, jun. *Esq;*

Shire of Stirling.

Henry Cunningham, *Esq;* Commis-
sary-General of the Musters in
Scotland, made Governor of Ja-
maica.

Shire of Sutherland.

William Lord Strathnayer, Grandson
and Heir apparent to the Earl of
Sutherland.

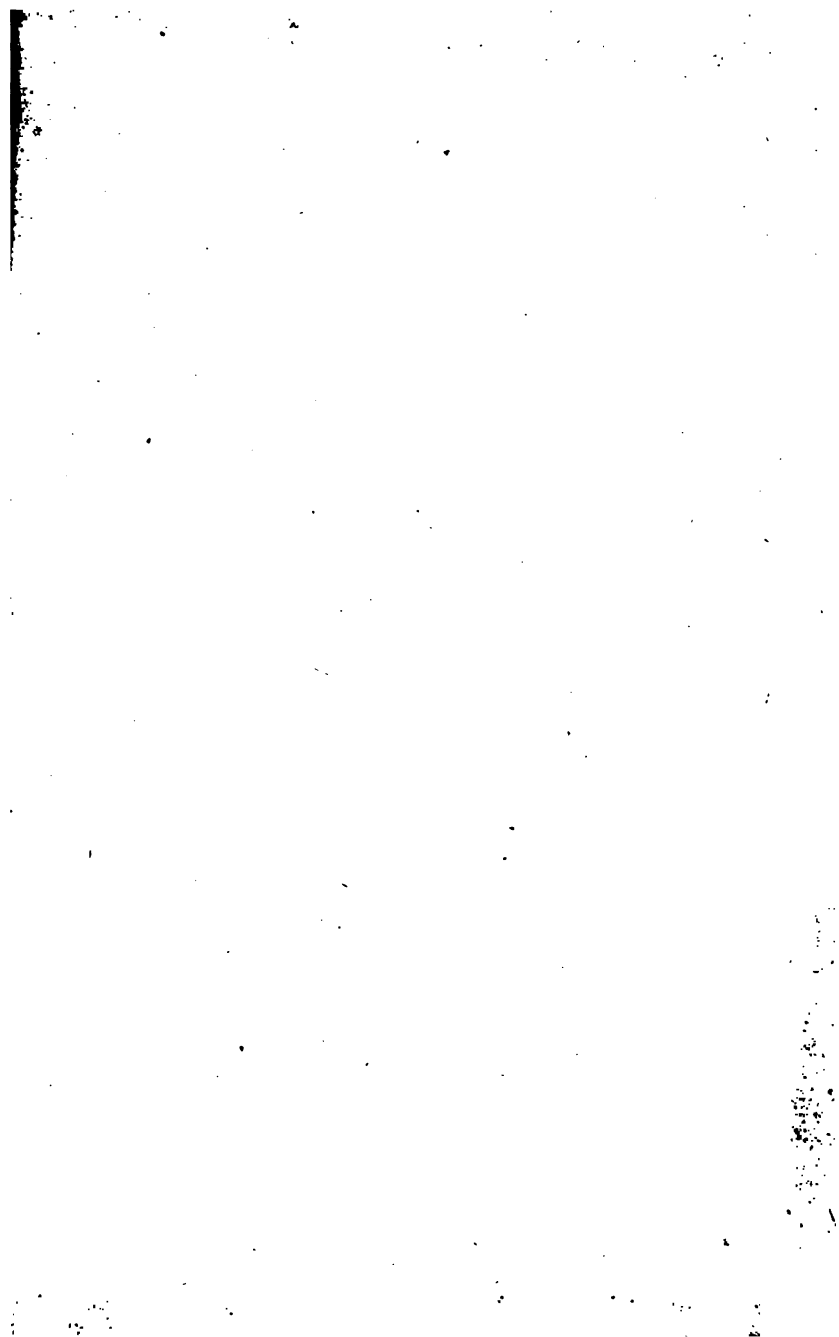
Shire of Wigtoun.

Hon. William Dalrymple, *Esq;* se-
cond Brother to the Earl of Stair.

A LIST of the first House of COMMONS,
ROYAL BURGHS.

<p>Edinburgh. John Campbell, <i>Esq;</i> Kirkwall, Week, Taine, &c. Sir Robert Monro, <i>Bart.</i> Fortrose, Inverness, Nairn, &c. Duncan Forbes, <i>Esq;</i> made Lord Advocate of Scotland, and <i>rechofen.</i> Elgin, Cullen, Bamff, &c. Peter Campbell, <i>Esq;</i> Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, and Capt. in the Foot-Guards. Aberdeen, Montrose, &c. John Middleton, <i>Esq;</i> Colonel of Foot, and Deputy Governor of Tinmouth-Fort. Forfar, Perth, Dundee, &c. John Drummond, <i>Esq;</i> Craill, Anstruther, Pottenweem, &c. Philip Anstruther, <i>Esq;</i> made Colonel</p>	<p>of a Regiment of Foot at Gibraltar, and <i>rechofen.</i> Dysert, Kirkcaldie, &c. James Sinclair, <i>Esq;</i> Major of the third Regiment of Foot Guards, and Lieutenant Governor of Berwick. Innerkithen, Culcross, Stirling, &c. Captain Thomas Erskine. Glasgow, Renfrew, Dumbarton, &c. Daniel Campbell, <i>Esq;</i> Selkirk, Peebles, Lanerk, &c. John Murray, <i>Esq;</i> Haddington, Dunbarr, Jedburgh, &c. Sir James Dalrymple, <i>Bart.</i> Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, &c. Archibald Douglass, Sen. <i>Esq;</i> Wigtoun, New Galloway, &c. Captain John Dalrymple. Air, Irvin, Inverary, &c. William Stuart, <i>Esq;</i> Pay-Master of the of the <i>Pensions</i> in England.</p>
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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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